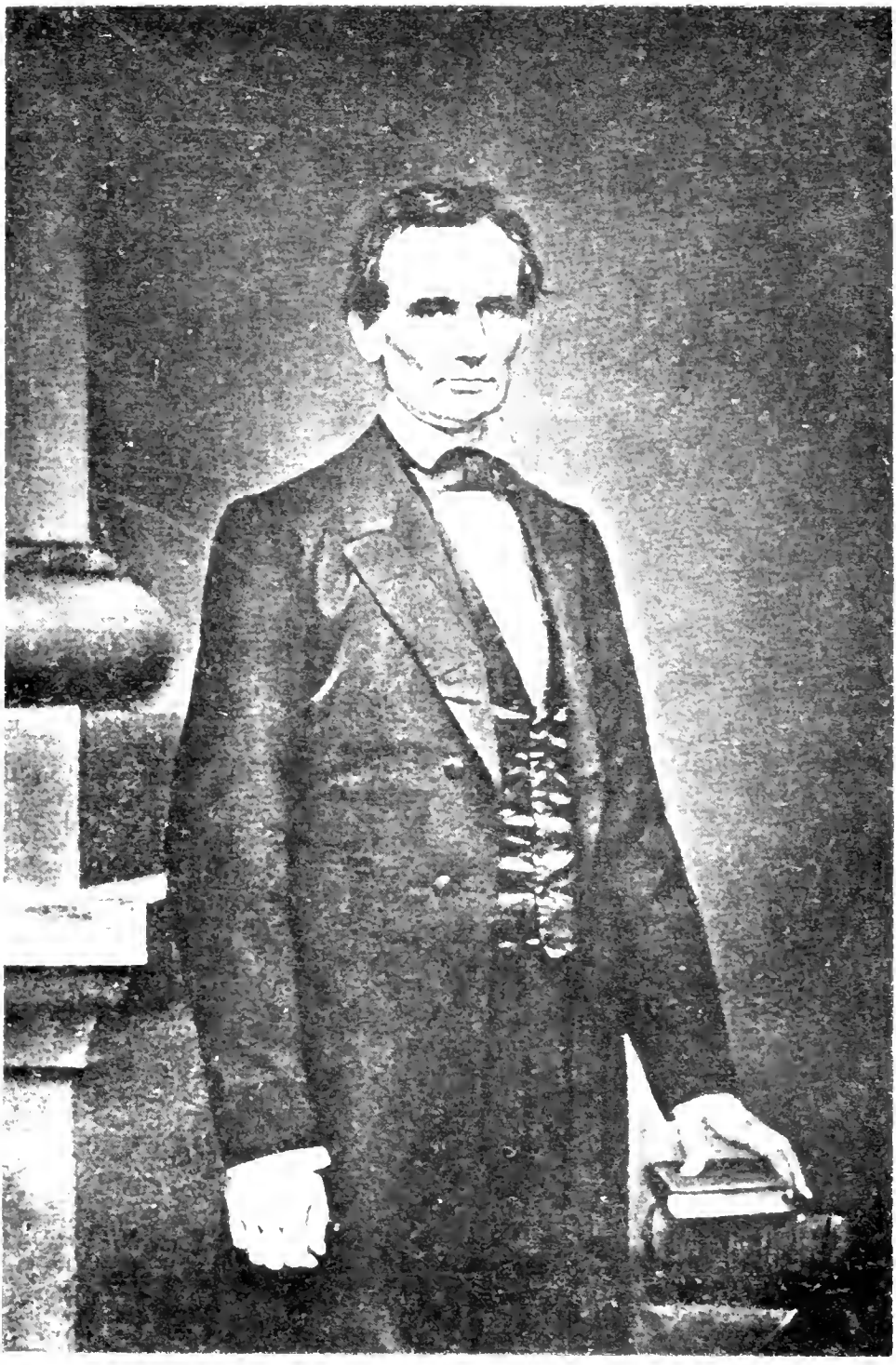

Photo by Handy

PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN AT THE TIME OF LINCOLN'S COOPER INSTITUTE ADDRESS IN 1860

SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES

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FOREWORD

This book of selections is intended for a variety of uses. We hope that it will find a place in high schools, in normal schools, and in colleges, and that it will be of service also to the general reader who wishes to have in a single volume the best of what Lincoln thought and said.

First, we have aimed to satisfy the requirements of the College Entrance Board, which places *Selections from Lincoln* upon its list of books for classes in literature. In satisfying these requirements we have included all the selections specified by the Board; but instead of adding another account of Lincoln's life to the number already in existence, we have printed at the beginning of our volume the most complete of Lincoln's autobiographical sketches, which carries him to the presidential campaign of 1860, and have supplied fairly complete chronological tables to supplement this. These tables not only show events in the life of Lincoln and summarize the history of his period, but bring together also the titles of the important literary works evoked by the slavery issue during his time. Thus the student, observing how much writing and how much legislation had its origin in the problems of slavery, will realize that Lincoln merely gave more effective expression than others, both in word and deed, to the interest which many had in common.

Secondly, in making our selections we have tried to supply more advanced students, whether of literature or of history, with the material necessary for tracing the development of Lincoln's statesmanship. To this end we have arranged our selections in chronological order, and have worked out a series of questions to guide study. We venture the assertion that the student who informs himself as to what Lincoln thought upon the principles of government and the important issues of his day will have an epitome of American history to the end of the

Civil War, and that the wise counsels of the great statesman will become

"a light to guide, a rod
To check the erring, and reprove."

Thirdly, no editors could study the controversial and argumentative work of Lincoln without increased admiration for its clearness and cogency. Since we have felt the need in our own classrooms of good material for illustrating the merits and the defects of argument, we have printed the first Lincoln-Douglas debate (omitting Douglas's second speech), and have analyzed the arguments of both speakers in series of questions. Douglas's speech illustrates almost every fallacy of reasoning, every impudence, every trick of the public platform; Lincoln's speeches show a sound argumentative method combined with a shrewd understanding of what stirs the sympathy and warms the blood of honest men. By study of the debate, by a further study of the Cooper Union Speech and the Bloomington Speech, the student will come to recognize Lincoln's title to admiration.

Permission has been given by G. P. Putnam's Sons for the use of selections and citations from the set of Lincoln's works edited by Lapsley and G. H. Putnam. We are indebted to Mr. D. C. French for permission to use a photograph of his statue of Lincoln; also to Gutzon Borglum for permission to use photographs of two of his statues.

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SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

SHORT AUTOBIOGRAPHY WRITTEN AT THE REQUEST OF A FRIEND TO USE IN PREPARING A POPULAR CAMPAIGN BIOGRAPHY IN THE ELECTION OF 1860

Abraham Lincoln was born February 12, 1809, then in Hardin, now in the more recently formed county of LaRue, Kentucky. His father, Thomas, and grandfather, Abraham, were born in Rockingham County, Virginia, whither their ancestors had come from Berks County, Pennsylvania. His lineage has been traced no farther back than this. The family were originally Quakers, though in later times they have fallen away from the peculiar habits of that people. The grandfather, Abraham, had four brothers — Isaac, Jacob, John, and Thomas. So far as known, the descendants of Jacob and John are still in Virginia. Isaac went to a place near where Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee join; and his descendants are in that region. Thomas came to Kentucky, and after many years died there, whence his descendants went to Missouri. Abraham, grandfather of the subject of this

sketch, came to Kentucky, and was killed by Indians about the year 1784. He left a widow, three sons, and two daughters. The eldest son Mordecai, remained in Kentucky till late in life, when he removed to Hancock County, Illinois, where soon after he died, and where several of his descendants still remain. The second son, Josiah, removed at an early day to a place on Blue River, now within Hancock County, Indiana, but no recent information of him or his family has been obtained. The eldest sister, Mary, married Ralph Crume, and some of her descendants are now known to be in Breckinridge County, Kentucky. The second sister, Nancy, married William Brumfield, and her family are not known to have left Kentucky, but there is no recent information from them. Thomas, the youngest son, and father of the present subject, by the early death of his father and very narrow circumstances of his mother, even in childhood was a wandering laboring-boy, and grew up literally without education. He never did more in the way of writing than to bunglingly write his own name. Before he was grown he passed one year as a hired man with his uncle Isaac on Watauga, a branch of the Holston River. Getting back into Kentucky, and having reached his twenty-eighth year, he married Nancy Hanks — mother of the present subject — in the year 1806. She also was born in Virginia; and relatives of hers of the name of Hanks, and of other names, now reside in Coles, in Macon, and in Adams counties, Illinois, and also in Iowa. The present subject has no brother or sister

of the whole or half blood. He had a sister, older than himself, who was grown and married, but died many years ago, leaving no child; also a brother, younger than himself, who died in infancy. Before leaving Kentucky, he and his sister were sent, for short periods, to ABC schools, the first kept by Zachariah Riney, and the second by Caleb Hazel.

At this time his father resided on Knob Creek, on the road from Bardstown, Kentucky, to Nashville, Tennessee, at a point three or three and a half miles south or southwest of Atherton's Ferry, on the Rolling Fork. From this place he removed to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in the autumn of 1816, Abraham then being in his eighth year. This removal was partly on account of slavery, but chiefly on account of the difficulty in land titles in Kentucky. He settled in an unbroken forest, and the clearing away of surplus wood was the great task ahead. Abraham, though very young, was large of his age, and had an ax put into his hands at once; and from that till within his twenty-third year he was almost constantly handling that most useful instrument — less, of course, in plowing and harvesting seasons. At this place Abraham took an early start as a hunter, which was never much improved afterward. A few days before the completion of his eighth year, in the absence of his father, a flock of wild turkeys approached the new log cabin, and Abraham with a rifle-gun, standing inside, shot through a crack and killed one of them. He has never since pulled a trigger on any larger game.

In the autumn of 1818 his mother died; and a year afterward his father married Mrs. Sally Johnston, at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, a widow with three children of her first marriage. She proved a good and kind mother to Abraham, and is still living in Coles County, Illinois. There were no children of this second marriage. His father's residence continued at the same place in Indiana till 1830. While here Abraham went to ABC schools by littles, kept successively by Andrew Crawford, —— Sweeney, and Azel W. Dorsey. He does not remember any other. The family of Mr. Dorsey now resides in Schuyler County, Illinois. Abraham now thinks that the aggregate of all his schooling did not amount to one year. He was never in a college or academy as a student, and never inside of a college or academy building till since he had a law license. What he has in the way of education he has picked up. After he was twenty-three and had separated from his father, he studied English grammar — imperfectly, of course, but so as to speak and write as well as he now does. He studied and nearly mastered the six books of Euclid since he was a member of Congress. He regrets his want of education, and does what he can to supply the want. In his tenth year he was kicked by a horse, and apparently killed for a time. When he was nineteen, still residing in Indiana, he made his first trip upon a flatboat to New Orleans. He was a hired hand merely, and he and a son of the owner, without other assistance, made the trip. The nature of part of the "cargo-load," as it was called, made it necessary for them to

linger and trade along the sugar-coast; and one night they were attacked by seven negroes with intent to kill and rob them. They were hurt some in the mêlée, but succeeded in driving the negroes from the boat, and then "cut cable," "weighed anchor," and left.

March 1, 1830, Abraham having just completed his twenty-first year, his father and family, with the families of the two daughters and sons-in-law of his stepmother, left the old homestead in Indiana and came to Illinois. Their mode of conveyance was wagons drawn by ox-teams, and Abraham drove one of the teams. They reached the county of Macon, and stopped there some time within the same month of March. His father and family settled a new place on the north side of the Sangamon River, at the junction of the timber-land and prairie, about ten miles westerly from Decatur. Here they built a log cabin, into which they removed, and made sufficient of rails to fence ten acres of ground, fenced and broke the ground, and raised a crop of sown corn upon it the same year. These are, or are supposed to be, the rails about which so much is being said just now, though these are far from being the first or only rails ever made by Abraham.

The sons-in-law were temporarily settled in other places in the county. In the autumn all hands were greatly afflicted with ague and fever, to which they had not been used, and by which they were greatly discouraged, so much so that they determined on leaving the county. They remained, however, through the

succeeding winter, which was the winter of the very celebrated "deep snow" of Illinois. During that winter Abraham, together with his stepmother's son, John D. Johnston, and John Hanks, yet residing in Macon County, hired themselves to Denton Offutt to take a flatboat from Beardstown, Illinois, to New Orleans; and for that purpose were to join him — Offutt — at Springfield, Illinois, so soon as the snow should go off. When it did go off, which was about the first of March, 1831, the county was so flooded as to make traveling by land impracticable; to obviate which difficulty they purchased a large canoe, and came down the Sangamon River in it. This is the time and the manner of Abraham's first entrance into Sangamon County. They found Offutt at Springfield, but learned from him that he had failed in getting a boat at Beardstown. This led to their hiring themselves to him for twelve dollars per month each, and getting the timber out of the trees and building a boat at Old Sangamon town on the Sangamon River, seven miles northwest of Springfield, which boat they took to New Orleans, substantially upon the old contract.

During this boat-enterprise acquaintance with Offutt, who was previously an entire stranger, he conceived a liking for Abraham, and believing he could turn him to account, he contracted with him to act as clerk for him, on his return from New Orleans, in charge of a store and mill at New Salem, then in Sangamon, now in Menard County. Hanks had not gone to New Orleans, but having a family, and being likely to be de-

tained from home longer than at first expected, had turned back from St. Louis. He is the same John Hanks who now engineers the "rail enterprise" at Decatur, and is a first cousin to Abraham's mother. Abraham's father, with his own family and others mentioned, had, in pursuance of their intention, removed from Macon to Coles County. John D. Johnston, the stepmother's son, went to them, and Abraham stopped indefinitely and for the first time as it were, by himself at New Salem, before mentioned. This was in July, 1831. Here he rapidly made acquaintances and friends. In less than a year Offutt's business was failing — had almost failed — when the Black Hawk War of 1832 broke out. Abraham joined a volunteer company, and, to his own surprise, was elected captain of it. He says he has not since had any success in life which gave him so much satisfaction. He went to the campaign, served near three months, met the ordinary hardships of such an expedition, but was in no battle. He now owns, in Iowa, the land upon which his own warrants for the service were located. Returning from the campaign, and encouraged by his great popularity among his immediate neighbors, he the same year ran for the legislature, and was beaten, — his own precinct, however, casting its votes 277 for and 7 against him — and that, too, while he was an avowed Clay man, and the precinct the autumn afterward giving a majority of 115 to General Jackson over Mr. Clay. This was the only time Abraham was ever beaten on a direct vote of the people. He was now

without means and out of business, but was anxious to remain with his friends who had treated him with so much generosity, especially as he had nothing elsewhere to go to. He studied what he should do — thought of learning the blacksmith trade — thought of trying to study law — rather thought he could not succeed at that without a better education. Before long, strangely enough, a man offered to sell, and did sell, to Abraham and another as poor as himself, an old stock of goods upon credit. They opened as merchants; and he says that was *the* store. Of course they did nothing but get deeper and deeper in debt. He was appointed postmaster at New Salem — the office being too insignificant to make his politics an objection. The store winked out. The surveyor of Sangamon offered to depute to Abraham that portion of his work which was within his part of the county. He accepted, procured a compass and chain, studied Flint and Gibson a little, and went at it. This procured bread, and kept soul and body together. The election of 1834 came, and he was then elected to the legislature by the highest vote cast for any candidate. Major John T. Stuart, then in full practice of the law, was also elected. During the canvass, in a private conversation he encouraged Abraham [to] study law. After the election he borrowed books of Stuart, took them home with him, and went at it in good earnest. He studied with nobody. He still mixed in the surveying to pay board and clothing bills. When the legislature met, the law-books were dropped, but were

taken up again at the end of the session. He was reëlected in 1836, 1838, and 1840. In the autumn of 1836 he obtained a law license, and on April 15, 1837, removed to Springfield, and commenced the practice — his old friend Stuart taking him into partnership. March 3, 1837, by a protest entered upon the "Illinois House Journal" of that date, at pages 817 and 818, Abraham, with Dan Stone, another representative of Sangamon, briefly defined his position on the slavery question; and so far as it goes, it was then the same that it is now. The protest is as follows:

> Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.
>
> They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy, but that the promulgation of Abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.
>
> They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.
>
> They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of the District.
>
> The difference between these opinions and those contained in the above resolutions is their reason for entering this protest.
>
> DAN STONE,
>
> A. LINCOLN,
>
> Representatives from the County of Sangamon.

In 1838 and 1840, Mr. Lincoln's party voted for him as Speaker, but being in the minority he was not elected. After 1840 he declined a reëlection to the legislature. He was on the Harrison electoral ticket

in 1840, and on that of Clay in 1844, and spent much time and labor in both those canvasses. In November, 1842, he was married to Mary, daughter of Robert S. Todd, of Lexington, Kentucky. They have three living children, all sons, one born in 1843, one in 1850, and one in 1853. They lost one, who was born in 1846.

In 1846 he was elected to the lower House of Congress, and served one term only, commencing in December, 1847, and ending with the inauguration of General Taylor, in March, 1849. All the battles of the Mexican War had been fought before Mr. Lincoln took his seat in Congress, but the American army was still in Mexico, and the treaty of peace was not fully and formally ratified till the June afterward. Much has been said of his course in Congress in regard to this war. A careful examination of the "Journal" and "Congressional Globe" shows that he voted for all the supply measures that came up, and for all the measures in any way favorable to the officers, soldiers, and their families, who conducted the war through: with the exception that some of these measures passed without yeas and nays, leaving no record as to how particular men voted. The "Journal" and "Globe" also show him voting that the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the President of the United States. This is the language of Mr. Ashmun's amendment, for which Mr. Lincoln and nearly or quite all other Whigs of the House of Representatives voted.

Mr. Lincoln's reasons for the opinion expressed by this vote were briefly that the President had sent Gen-

eral Taylor into an inhabited part of the country belonging to Mexico, and not to the United States, and thereby had provoked the first act of hostility, in fact the commencement of the war; that the place, being the country bordering on the east bank of the Rio Grande, was inhabited by native Mexicans, born there under the Mexican government, and had never submitted to, nor been conquered by, Texas or the United States, nor transferred to either by treaty; that although Texas claimed the Rio Grande as her boundary, Mexico had never recognized it, and neither Texas nor the United States had ever enforced it; that there was a broad desert between that and the country over which Texas had actual control; that the country where hostilities commenced, having once belonged to Mexico, must remain so until it was somehow legally transferred, which had never been done.

Mr. Lincoln thought the act of sending an armed force among the Mexicans was unnecessary, inasmuch as Mexico was in no way molesting or menacing the United States or the people thereof; and that it was unconstitutional, because the power of levying war is vested in Congress, and not in the President. He thought the principal motive for the act was to divert public attention from the surrender of "Fifty-four, forty, or fight" to Great Britain, on the Oregon boundary question.

Mr. Lincoln was not a candidate for reëlection. This was determined upon and declared before he went to Washington, in accordance with an understanding

among Whig friends, by which Colonel Hardin and Colonel Baker had each previously served a single term in this same district.

In 1848, during his term in Congress, he advocated General Taylor's nomination for the presidency, in opposition to all others, and also took an active part for his election after his nomination, speaking a few times in Maryland, near Washington, several times in Massachusetts, and canvassing quite fully his own district in Illinois, which was followed by a majority in the district of over 1500 for General Taylor.

Upon his return from Congress he went to the practice of the law with greater earnestness than ever before. In 1852 he was upon the Scott electoral ticket, and did something in the way of canvassing, but owing to the hopelessness of the cause in Illinois he did less than in previous presidential canvasses.

In 1854 his profession had almost superseded the thought of politics in his mind, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused him as he had never been before.

In the autumn of that year he took the stump with no broader practical aim or object than to secure, if possible, the reëlection of Hon. Richard Yates to Congress. His speeches at once attracted a more marked attention than they had ever before done. As the canvass proceeded he was drawn to different parts of the State outside of Mr. Yates's district. He did not abandon the law, but gave his attention by turns to that and politics. The State agricultural fair was at

Springfield that year, and Douglas was announced to speak there.

In the canvass of 1856 Mr. Lincoln made over fifty speeches, no one of which, so far as he remembers, was put in print. One of them was made at Galena, but Mr. Lincoln has no recollection of any part of it being printed; nor does he remember whether in that speech he said anything about a Supreme Court decision. He may have spoken upon that subject, and some of the newspapers may have reported him as saying what is now ascribed to him; but he thinks he could not have expressed himself as represented.

AN EXCERPT FROM LINCOLN'S FIRST POLITICAL ANNOUNCEMENT

From an Address to the People of Sangamon County, March 9, 1832

. . . . Upon the subject of education, not presuming to dictate any plan or system respecting it, I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we, as a people, can be engaged in. That every man may receive at least a moderate education, and thereby be enabled to read the histories of his own and other countries, by which he may duly appreciate the value of our free institutions, appears to be an object of vital importance, even on this account alone, to say nothing of the advantages and satisfaction to be derived from all being able to read the Scriptures and other works, both of a religious and moral nature, for themselves.

For my part, I desire to see the time when education — and by its means morality, sobriety, enterprise, and industry — shall become much more general than at present; and should be gratified to have it in my power to contribute something to the advancement of any measure which might have a tendency to accelerate that happy period.

Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say, for one, that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow-men by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition is yet to be developed. I am young and unknown to many of you; I was born and have ever remained in the most humble walks of life. I have no wealthy or popular relations or friends to recommend me. My case is thrown exclusively upon the independent voters of the county, and if elected they will have conferred a favor upon me for which I shall be unremitting in my labors to compensate. But if the good people in their wisdom shall see fit to keep me in the background, I have been too familiar with disappointments to be very much chagrined. . . .

ANOTHER EARLY ANNOUNCEMENT OF POLITICAL VIEWS

New Salem, June 13, 1836.

To the Editor of "The Journal":

In your paper of last Saturday I see a communication, over the signature of "Many Voters," in which

the candidates who are announced in the "Journal" are called upon to "Show their hands." Agreed. Here's mine.

I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens. Consequently, I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms (by no means excluding females).

If elected, I shall consider the whole people of Sangamon my constituents, as well those that oppose as those that support me.

While acting as their representative, I shall be governed by their will on all subjects upon which I have the means of knowing what their will is; and upon all others I shall do what my own judgment teaches me will best advance their interests." Whether elected or not, I go for distributing the proceeds of the sales of the public lands to the several States, to enable our State, in common with others, to dig canals and construct railroads without borrowing money and paying the interest on it.

If alive on the first Monday in November, I shall vote for Hugh L. White for President.

Very respectfully,
A. LINCOLN.

[1] Compare with this submission to the will of the people, what Lincoln said in his message to Congress after his second election to the Presidency: "If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another and not I must be their instrument to perform it."

THE TEMPERANCE REVOLUTION

From an Address before the Springfield Washingtonian Temperance Society, February 22, 1842

. . . . Of our political revolution of '76, we are all justly proud. It has given us a degree of political freedom far exceeding that of any other nation of the earth. In it the world has found a solution of the long-mooted problem as to the capability of man to govern himself. In it was the germ which has vegetated, and still is to grow and expand into the universal liberty of mankind. But, with all these glorious results, past, present, and to come, it had its evils too. It breathed forth famine, swam in blood, and rode in fire; and long, long after the orphan's cry and the widow's wail continued to break the sad silence that ensued. These were the price, the inevitable price, paid for the blessings it bought.

Turn now to the temperance revolution. In it we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tyrant deposed; in it, more of want supplied, more disease healed, more sorrow assuaged. By it, no orphans starving, no widows weeping. By it, none wounded in feeling, none injured in interest; even the dram-maker and dram-seller will have glided into other occupations so gradually as never to have felt the change, and will stand ready to join all others in the universal song of gladness. And what a noble ally this to the cause of political

freedom; with such an aid its march cannot fail to be on and on, till every son of earth shall drink in rich fruition the sorrow-quenching draughts of perfect liberty. Happy day when — all appetites controlled, all poisons subdued, all matter subjected — mind, all conquering mind, shall live and move, the monarch of the world. Glorious consummation! Hail, fall of fury! Reign of reason, all hail!

And when the victory shall be complete, — when there shall be neither a slave nor a drunkard on the earth, — how proud the title of that land which may truly claim to be the birthplace and the cradle of both those revolutions that shall have ended in that victory! How nobly distinguished that people who shall have planted and nurtured to maturity both the political and moral freedom of their species!

This is the one hundred and tenth anniversary of the birthday of Washington; we are met to celebrate this day. Washington is the mightiest name of earth — long since mightiest in the cause of civil liberty, still mightiest in moral reformation. On that name no eulogy is expected. It cannot be. To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of Washington is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name, and in its naked deathless splendor leave it shining on.

NOTES FOR A LAW LECTURE

Written about July 1, 1850

I AM not an accomplished lawyer. I find quite as much material for a lecture in those points wherein I have failed, as in those wherein I have been moderately successful. The leading rule for a lawyer, as for the man of every other calling, is diligence. Leave nothing for to-morrow which can be done to-day. Never let your correspondence fall behind. Whatever piece of business you have in hand, before stopping, do all the labor pertaining to it which can then be done. When you bring a common law-suit, if you have the facts for doing so, write the declaration at once. If a law point be involved, examine the books, and note the authority you rely on upon the declaration itself, where you are sure to find it when wanted. The same of defences and pleas. In business not likely to be litigated, — ordinary collection cases, foreclosures, partitions, and the like, — make all examinations of titles, and note them and even draft orders and decrees in advance. The course has a triple advantage: it avoids omissions and neglect, saves your labor when once done, performs the labor out of court when you have leisure, rather than in court when you have not. Extemporaneous speaking should be practised and cultivated. It is the lawyer's avenue to the public. However able and faithful he may be in other respects, people are slow to bring him business if he cannot make

a speech. And yet there is not a more fatal error to young lawyers than relying too much on speech-making. If any one, upon his rare powers of speaking, shall claim an exemption from the drudgery of the law, his case is a failure in advance.

Discourage litigation. Persuade your neighbors to compromise whenever you can. Point out to them how the nominal winner is often a real loser — in fees, expenses, and waste of time. As a peace-maker the lawyer has a superior opportunity of being a good man. There will still be business enough.

Never stir up litigation. A worse man can scarcely be found than one who does this. Who can be more nearly a fiend than he who habitually overhauls the register of deeds in search of defects in titles, whereon to stir up strife, and put money in his pocket? A moral tone ought to be infused into the profession which should drive such men out of it.

The matter of fees is important, far beyond the mere question of bread and butter involved. Properly attended to, fuller justice is done to both lawyer and client. An exorbitant fee should never be claimed. As a general rule, never take your whole fee in advance, nor any more than a small retainer. When fully paid beforehand, you are more than a common mortal if you can feel the same interest in the case as if something was still in prospect for you, as well as for your client. And when you lack interest in the case the job will very likely lack skill and diligence in the performance. Settle the amount of fee and take a note in

advance. Then you will feel that you are working for something, and you are sure to do your work faithfully and well. Never sell a fee-note — at least not before the consideration service is performed. It leads to negligence and dishonesty — negligence by losing interest in the case, and dishonesty in refusing to refund when you have allowed the consideration to fail.

There is a vague popular belief that lawyers are necessarily dishonest. I say vague, because when we consider to what extent confidence and honors are reposed in and conferred upon lawyers by the people, it appears improbable that their impression of dishonesty is very distinct and vivid. Yet the impression is common, almost universal. Let no young man choosing the law for a calling for a moment yield to the popular belief. Resolve to be honest at all events; and if in your own judgment you cannot be an honest lawyer, resolve to be honest without being a lawyer. Choose some other occupation, rather than one in the choosing of which you do, in advance, consent to be a knave.

SELECTIONS FROM THE SPEECH AT PEORIA

October 16, 1854

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill of Senator Douglas passed in May, 1854. On October fourth of that year Lincoln assailed the bill in a great speech at the State Fair held at Springfield, following a speech delivered there by Douglas on October third. Douglas replied on October fifth. Eleven days later Lincoln answered

in his famous speech at Peoria. Douglas then made a pact with Lincoln that neither should speak again in that campaign, — an agreement which Douglas violated.

The Peoria speech has been regarded by historians as one of the most important of Lincoln's public addresses, perhaps because he nowhere else displays so intimate a knowledge of the history of the slavery question. He discusses (1) the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, tracing the effect of slavery upon legislation from the formation of the national government to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and (2) the propriety of restoring the Missouri Compromise.

Slavery as a Moral Issue

. . . . But one great argument in support of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is still to come. That argument is "the sacred right of self-government." . . . Some poet has said, —

"Fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

At the hazard of being thought one of the fools of this quotation, I meet that argument, — I rush in, — I take that bull by the horns. . . . My faith in the proposition that each man should do precisely as he pleases with all which is exclusively his own, lies at the foundation of the sense of justice there is in me. I extend the principle to communities of men as well as to individuals. I so extend it because it is politically wise as well as naturally just, — politically wise in saving us from broils about matters which do not concern us. Here, or at Washington, I would not trouble myself with the oyster laws of Virginia, or the cranberry laws of Indiana. The doctrine of self-government is right, — absolutely and eternally right; but it has no just application as here attempted. Or perhaps I

should rather say that whether it has any application here depends upon whether a negro is not or is a man. If he is not a man, in that case he who is a man may, as a matter of self-government, do just what he pleases with him. But if the negro is a man, is it not to that extent a total destruction of self-government to say that he, too, shall not govern himself? When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government, — that is despotism. If the negro is a man, then my ancient faith teaches me that "all men are created equal," and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man's making a slave of another.

Judge Douglas frequently, with bitter irony and sarcasm, paraphrases our argument by saying: "The white people of Nebraska are good enough to govern themselves, but they are not good enough to govern a few miserable negroes!"

Well, I doubt not that the people of Nebraska are and will continue to be as good as the average of people elsewhere. I do not say the contrary. What I do say is that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. I say this is the leading principle, — the sheet-anchor of American republicanism.

The Effect of Slavery on Democracy

. . . . Whether slavery shall go into Nebraska, or other new Territories, is not a matter of exclusive con-

cern to the people who may go there. The whole nation is interested that the best use shall be made of these Territories. We want them for homes of free white people. This they cannot be, to any considerable extent, if slavery shall be planted within them. Slave States are places for poor white people to remove from, not to remove to. New free States are the places for poor people to go to, and better their condition. For this use the nation needs these Territories.

The Effect of Slavery on the Union

. . . . But Nebraska is urged as a great Union-saving measure. Well, I too go for saving the Union. Much as I hate slavery, I would consent to the extension of it rather than see the Union dissolved, just as I would consent to any great evil to avoid a greater one. But when I go to Union-saving, I must believe, at least, that the means I employ have some adaptation to the end. To my mind, Nebraska has no such adaptation.

"It hath no relish of salvation in it."

It is an aggravation, rather, of the only one thing which ever endangers the Union. When it came upon us, all was peace and quiet. The nation was looking to the forming of new bonds of union, and a long course of peace and prosperity seemed to lie before us. In the whole range of possibility, there scarcely appears to me to have been anything out of which the slavery agitation could have been revived, except the very project of repealing the Missouri Compromise. Every

inch of territory we owned already had a settlement of the slavery question, by which all parties were pledged to abide. Indeed, there was no uninhabited country on the continent which we could acquire, if we except some extreme northern regions which are wholly out of the question.

In this state of affairs the Genius of Discord himself could scarcely have invented a way of again setting us by the ears but by turning back and destroying the peace measures of the past. The counsels of that Genius seem to have prevailed. The Missouri Compromise was repealed; and here we are in the midst of a new slavery agitation, such, I think, as we have never seen before. Who is responsible for this? Is it those who resist the measure, or those who causelessly brought it forward and pressed it through, having reason to know, and in fact knowing, it must and would be so resisted? It could not but be expected by its author that it would be looked upon as a measure for the extension of slavery, aggravated by a gross breach of faith.

Argue as you will and long as you will, this is the naked front and aspect of the measure. And in this aspect it could not but produce agitation. Slavery is founded in the selfishness of man's nature — opposition to it in his love of justice. These principles are in eternal antagonism, and when brought into collision so fiercely as slavery extension brings them, shocks and throes and convulsions must ceaselessly follow. Repeal the Missouri Compromise, repeal all compromises, re-

peal the Declaration of Independence, repeal all past history, you still cannot repeal human nature. It still will be the abundance of man's heart that slavery extension is wrong, and out of the abundance of his heart his mouth will continue to speak.

BLOOMINGTON SPEECH

May 29, 1856

Between 1854 and 1856 old party lines were breaking down, and Lincoln, with other liberals, was turning to new allegiances. In November, 1854, a month after the Peoria speech, he was elected to the General Assembly of Illinois from Sangamon County as a Whig, resigning this position shortly to become a candidate for the United States Senate on the Whig ticket. Although he led on the first ballot, the legislature elected Trumbull, a dark horse; but Lincoln was consoled by the fact that he had forced the election of an Anti-Nebraska senator. As late as August, 1855, he writes, "I think I am a Whig, but others say there are no Whigs, and that I am an Abolitionist."

On February 22, 1856, a convention of editors was held at Decatur to organize the Anti-Nebraska sentiment of the state. At a banquet held that night Lincoln discouraged the intention of making him the Anti-Nebraska candidate for governor, and suggested the nomination of Colonel W. H. Bissell. (This suggestion was followed, and Bissell was elected.) Before disbanding, the delegates appointed a State Central Committee and decided to call a State Convention at Bloomington on the 29th of May. On the same day on which the Illinois delegates met at Decatur, delegates from several states met at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and appointed a National Committee which summoned the first National Republican Convention to its meeting at Philadelphia on the 17th of June.

The Bloomington convention met at the time appointed, adopted a platform, appointed delegates to the National Republican Convention, nominated a state ticket, and completed the work of organizing the Republican Party in Illinois. At the

conclusion of business there was some speaking, but the crowd remained unresponsive. Finally Lincoln was demanded and came forward to speak. Miss Tarbell describes the scene: —

"He began his speech, then, deeply moved, and with a profound sense of the importance of the moment. At first he spoke slowly and haltingly, but gradually he grew in force and intensity until his hearers arose from their chairs and with pale faces and quivering lips pressed unconsciously towards him. Starting from the back of the broad platform on which he stood, his hands on his hips, he slowly advanced towards the front, his eyes blazing, his face white with passion, his voice resonant with the force of his conviction. As he advanced he seemed to his audience fairly to grow, and when at the end of a period he stood at the front line of the stage, hands still on the hips, head back, raised on his tiptoes, he seemed like a giant inspired. 'At that moment he was the handsomest man I ever saw,' Judge Scott declared."

It must be remembered that the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had aroused the whole nation. Lincoln had reëntered politics because he resented the tendency of this bill to spread slavery. Only a week before the present speech the conflict in Kansas had reached its worst. Participants and spectators of the rioting of May 21 at Lawrence were in Lincoln's audience. All this afforded a dramatic opportunity for stirring the feelings of his hearers which Lincoln did not miss.

This address is commonly known as the "Lost Speech." In 1896 Mr. H. C. Whitney, a lawyer present at the convention, published the following version based upon notes taken at the time of delivery. Newspaper reporters seem to have been too intent upon listening to record the speech.

1. *Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,* I was over at [cries of "Platform!" "Take the platform!"] — I say, that while I was at Danville Court, some of our friends of Anti-Nebraska[1] got together in Springfield and elected me as one delegate to represent old San-

[1] Those who opposed the bill of Senator Douglas repealing the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

gamon with them in this convention, and I am here certainly as a sympathizer in this movement and by virtue of that meeting and selection. But we can hardly be called delegates strictly, inasmuch as, properly speaking, we represent nobody but ourselves. I think it altogether fair to say that we have no Anti-Nebraska party in Sangamon, although there is a good deal of Anti-Nebraska feeling there; but I say for myself, and I think I may speak also for my colleagues, that we who are here fully approve of the platform and of all that has been done [A voice: "Yes!"]; and even if we are not regularly delegates, it will be right for me to answer your call to speak. I suppose we truly stand for the public sentiment of Sangamon on the great question of the repeal,[1] although we do not yet represent many numbers who have taken a distinct position on the question.

2. We are in a trying time — it ranges above mere party — and this movement to call a halt and turn our steps backward needs all the help and good counsels it can get; for unless popular opinion makes itself very strongly felt, and a change is made in our present course, *blood will flow on account of Nebraska, and brother's hand will be raised against brother!* [The last sentence was uttered in such an earnest, impressive, if not, indeed, tragic, manner, as to make a cold chill creep over me. Others gave a similar experience.]

3. I have listened with great interest to the earnest

[1] The repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

appeal made to Illinois men by the gentleman from Lawrence[1] [James S. Emery] who has just addressed us so eloquently and forcibly. I was deeply moved by his statement of the wrongs done to free-State men out there. I think it just to say that all true men North should sympathize with them, and ought to be willing to do any possible and needful thing to right their wrongs. But we must not promise what we ought not, lest we be called on to perform what we cannot; we must be calm and moderate, and consider the whole difficulty, and determine what is possible and just. We must not be led by excitement and passion to do that which our sober judgments would not approve in our cooler moments. We have higher aims; we will have more serious business than to dally with temporary measures.

4. We are here to stand firmly for a principle — to stand firmly for a right. We know that great political and moral wrongs are done, and outrages committed, and we denounce those wrongs and outrages, although we cannot, at present, do much more. But we desire to reach out beyond those personal out-

[1] Lawrence, Kansas, settled in 1854 by the Emigrant Aid Company of Massachusetts which had been formed to settle Kansas with anti-slavery colonies. The anti-slavery towns were Lawrence, Topeka, Manhattan, Waubunsee, Hampden, Ossawatomie; the pro-slavery towns, Atchison, Leavenworth, Lecompton, Kickapoo. Lawrence was the scene of continual struggles between its citizens and pro-slavery men of the adjacent country. On May 21, 1856, the town was sacked by a sheriff's posse of seven hundred and fifty men, sympathizers with the slavery faction in Kansas. This event and the assault on Senator Sumner on the day following greatly stirred the North.

rages and establish a rule that will apply to all, and so prevent any future outrages.

5. We have seen to-day that every shade of popular opinion is represented here, with *Freedom* or rather *Free Soil*[1] as the basis. We have come together as in some sort representatives of popular opinion against the extension of slavery into territory now free in fact as well as by law, and the pledged word of the statesmen of the nation who are now no more. We come — we are here assembled together — to protest as well as we can against a great wrong, and to take measures, as well as we now can, to make that wrong right; to place the nation, as far as it may be possible now, as it was before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and the plain way to do this is to restore the Compromise, and to demand and determine that *Kansas shall be free!*[2] [Immense applause.] While we affirm, and reaffirm, if necessary, our devotion to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, let our practical work here be limited to the above. We know that there is not a perfect agreement of sentiment here on the public questions which might be rightfully considered in this convention, and that the indignation which we all must feel cannot be helped; but all of us must give up something for the good of the cause. There is one desire which is uppermost in the mind,

[1] The next sentence defines the broader meaning of this phrase. Many of Lincoln's auditors had previously been members of the Free Soil Party, formed at the close of the Mexican War. See Appendix A.

[2] This became a party slogan.

one wish common to us all — to which no dissent will be made; and I counsel you earnestly to bury all resentment, to sink all personal feeling, make all things work to a common purpose in which we are united and agreed about, and which all present will agree is absolutely necessary — which *must* be done by any rightful mode if there be such: *Slavery must be kept out of Kansas!* [Applause.] The test — the pinch — is right there. If we lose Kansas to freedom, an example will be set which will prove fatal to freedom in the end. We, therefore, in the language of the *Bible*, must "lay the axe to the root of the tree." Temporizing will not do longer; now is the time for decision — for firm, persistent, resolute action. [Applause.]

6. The Nebraska bill, or rather Nebraska law, is not one of wholesome legislation, but was and is an act of legislative usurpation, whose result, if not indeed intention, is to make slavery national; and unless headed off in some effective way, we are in a fair way to see this land of boasted freedom converted into a land of slavery in fact. [Sensation.] Just open your two eyes, and see if this be not so. I need do no more than state, to command universal approval, that almost the entire North, as well as a large following in the border States, is radically opposed to the planting of slavery in free territory. Probably in a popular vote throughout the nation nine-tenths of the voters in the free States, and at least one-half in the border States, if they could express their sentiments freely, would vote NO on such an issue; and it is safe to say that two-thirds of the

votes of the entire nation would be opposed to it. And yet, in spite of this overbalancing of sentiment in this free country, we are in a fair way to see Kansas present itself for admission as a slave State. Indeed, it is a felony, by the local law of Kansas, to deny that slavery exists there even now. By every principle of law, a negro in Kansas is free; yet the *bogus* legislature makes it an infamous crime to tell him that he is free!

7. The party lash and the fear of ridicule will overawe justice and liberty; for it is a singular fact, but none the less a fact, and well known by the most common experience, that men will do things under the terror of the party lash that they would not on any account or for any consideration do otherwise; while men who will march up to the mouth of a loaded cannon without shrinking, will run from the terrible name of "Abolitionist," even when pronounced by a worthless creature whom they, with good reason, despise. For instance — to press this point a little — Judge Douglas introduced his Anti-Nebraska bill[1] in January; and we had an extra session of our legislature in the succeeding February, in which were seventy-five Democrats; and at a party caucus, fully attended, there were just three votes out of the whole seventy-five, for the measure. But in a few days orders came on from Washington, commanding them to approve the measure; the party lash was applied, and it was brought up again in caucus, and passed by a large majority. The masses were against it, but party necessity carried it; and it

[1] The Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

was passed through the lower house of Congress against the will of the people, for the same reason. Here is where the greatest danger lies — that, while we profess to be a government of law and reason, law will give way to violence on demand of this awful and crushing power. Like the great Juggernaut [1] — I think that is the name — the great idol, it crushes everything that comes in its way, and makes a — or as I read once, in a black-letter law book, "a slave is a human being who is legally not a *person*, but a *thing*." And if the safeguards to liberty are broken down, as is now attempted, when they have made *things* of all the free negroes, how long, think you, before they will begin to make *things* of poor white men? [Applause.] Be not deceived. Revolutions do not go backward. The founder of the Democratic Party declared that *all* men were created equal. His successor in the leadership has written the word "white" before men, making it read "all *white* men are created equal." [2] Pray, will or may not the Know-nothings,[3] if they should get in power, add the word "protestant," making it read "*all protestant white men*"?

8. Meanwhile the hapless negro is the fruitful subject of reprisals in other quarters. John Pettit,[4] whom Tom Benton [4] paid his respects to, you will recollect, calls

[1] Idol of the Hindu god Krishna at Puri, dragged in procession on a huge car under the wheels of which devotees are said to have thrown themselves.

[2] The contention of Senator Douglas; see, for example, his opening speech in the first Lincoln-Douglas Debate.

[3] See Appendix A.

[4] Pettit(1807–1877) was a Democratic member of the United States

the immortal Declaration "a self-evident lie"; while at the birth-place of freedom — in the shadow of Bunker Hill and of the "cradle of liberty," at the home of the Adamses and Warren and Otis — Choate,[1] from our side of the house, dares to fritter away the birthday promise of liberty by proclaiming the Declaration to be "a string of glittering generalities"; and the Southern Whigs, working hand in hand with pro-slavery Democrats, are making Choate's theories practical. Thomas Jefferson, a slaveholder, mindful of the moral element in slavery, solemnly declared that he "trembled for his country when he remembered that God is just"; while Judge Douglas, with an insignificant wave of the hand, "don't care whether slavery is voted up or voted down."[2] Now, if slavery is right, or even negative, he has a right to treat it in this trifling manner. But if it is a moral and political wrong, as all Christendom considers it to be, how can he answer to God for this attempt to spread and fortify it? [Applause.]

9. But no man, and Judge Douglas no more than any other, can maintain a negative, or merely neutral,

Senate from Indiana, 1853–1855; in 1859 he was appointed by President Buchanan Chief Justice of Kansas. Benton (1782–1858) of Missouri was a prominent Democratic statesman who opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; however, he supported Buchanan for the presidency in 1856 against his own son-in-law, Frémont, the Republican candidate.

[1] Rufus Choate (1799–1859), the United States Senator from Massachusetts, 1841–1845, opposed the annexation of Texas but supported Buchanan in 1856.

[2] This was the attitude of Senator Douglas. His indifference toward the moral question involved in the slavery issue was attacked by Lincoln in the joint debates of 1858.

position on this question; and, accordingly, he avows that the Union was made *by* white men and *for* white men and their descendants. As a matter of fact, the first branch of the proposition is historically true; the government was made by white men, and they were and are the superior race. This I admit. But the corner-stone of the government, so to speak, was the declaration that "*all* men are created equal," and all entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." [Applause.]

10. And not only so, but the framers of the Constitution were particular to keep out of that instrument the word "slave," the reason being that slavery would ultimately come to an end, and they did not wish to have any reminder that in this free country human beings were ever prostituted to slavery. [Applause.] Nor is it any argument that we are superior and the negro inferior — that he has but one talent while we have ten. Let the negro possess the little he has in independence; if he has but one talent, he should be permitted to keep the little he has. [Applause.] But slavery will endure no test of reason or logic; and yet its advocates, like Douglas, use a sort of bastard logic, or noisy assumption, it might better be termed, like the above, in order to prepare the mind for the gradual, but none the less certain, encroachments of the Moloch [1] of slavery upon the fair domain of freedom. But however much you may argue upon it, or smother it in soft phrases, slavery can only be maintained by force

[1] A Canaanite idol to which children were sacrificed.

— by violence. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was by violence. It was a violation of both law and the sacred obligations of honor, to overthrow and trample underfoot a solemn compromise, obtained by the fearful loss to freedom of one of the fairest of our Western domains.[1] Congress violated the will and confidence of its constituents in voting for the bill; and while public sentiment, as shown by the elections of 1854,[2] demanded the restoration of this compromise, Congress violated its trust by refusing, simply because it had the force of numbers to hold on to it. And murderous violence is being used now, in order to force slavery on to Kansas; for it cannot be done in any other way. [Sensation.]

11. The necessary result was to establish the rule of violence — force, instead of the rule of law and reason; to perpetuate and spread slavery, and, in time, to make it general. We see it at both ends of the line. In Washington, on the very spot where the outrage was started, the fearless Sumner[3] is beaten to insensibility,

[1] Missouri, which, in accordance with the Compromise of 1820, entered the Union as a slave State.

[2] Lincoln's interpretation of such elections as those held in Connecticut in April, 1864, when the Democrats failed to elect the State Legislature and the governor.

[3] Charles Sumner (1811–1874) made his first anti-slavery speech in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on November 4, 1845; opposed the Mexican War; helped to organize the Free Soil Party in Massachusetts in 1848; was elected to the United States Senate by Free Soilers and Democrats in January, 1851; made a speech on "Freedom National, Slavery Sectional" on August 20, 1852; opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854. On May 19–20, 1856, he made his famous "Crime against Kansas" speech. Two days later Representative Preston Smith Brooks of South Carolina brutally beat him into

and is now slowly dying; while senators who claim to be gentlemen and Christians stood by, countenancing the act, and even applauding it afterward in their places in the Senate. Even Douglas, our man, saw it all and was within helping distance, yet let the murderous blows fall unopposed. Then, at the other end of the line, at the very time Sumner was being murdered, Lawrence was being destroyed for the crime of Freedom. It was the most prominent stronghold of liberty in Kansas, and must give way to the all-dominating power of slavery. Only two days ago, Judge Trumbull [1] found it necessary to propose a bill in the Senate to prevent a general civil war and to restore peace in Kansas.

12. We live in the midst of alarms; anxiety beclouds the future; we expect some new disaster with each newspaper we read. Are we in a healthful political state? Are not the tendencies plain? Do not the signs of the times point plainly the ways in which we are going? [Sensation.]

13. In the early days of the Constitution slavery was recognized, by South and North alike, as an evil, and

unconsciousness while he was sitting at his desk in the Senate. The House did not expel Brooks; he resigned and was unanimously re-elected. As a result of his injuries, Sumner was absent from his seat in the Senate for nearly four years. During the Civil War he was chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs.

[1] United States Senator from Illinois, chosen in 1855 by the State Legislature. He was elected on the tenth ballot, though on the first ballot the vote stood: — Lincoln 44, Shields (Democrat) 41, Trumbull (Anti-Nebraska) 5. Previously Trumbull had been a member of the Democratic Party. See also the first Lincoln-Douglas Debate.

the division of sentiment about it was not controlled by geographical lines or considerations of climate, but by moral and philanthropic views. Petitions for the abolition of slavery were presented to the very first Congress by Virginia and Massachusetts alike.[1] To show the harmony which prevailed, I will state that a fugitive-slave law was passed in 1793,[2] with no dissenting voice in the Senate, and but seven dissenting votes in the House. It was, however, a wise law, moderate, and, under the Constitution, a just one. Twenty-five years later, a more stringent law was proposed and defeated; and thirty-five years after that, the present law, drafted by Mason of Virginia, was passed by Northern votes. I am not, just now, complaining of this law, but I am trying to show how the current sets; for the proposed law of 1817 was far less offensive than the present one. In 1774 the Continental Congress pledged itself, without a dissenting vote, to wholly discontinue the slave trade, and to neither purchase nor import any slave: and less than three months before the passage of the Declaration of Independence, the same Congress which adopted that declaration unanimously resolved "that *no slave be imported into any of the thirteen United Colonies.*" [Great applause.]

14. On the second day of July, 1776, the draft of a Declaration of Independence was reported to Congress by the committee, and in it the slave trade was char-

[1] The Quakers presented a similar petition to the first Congress.
[2] This law was operative until the Clay Compromise of 1850.

acterized as "an execrable commerce," as "a piratical warfare," as the "opprobrium of infidel powers," and as "a cruel war against human nature." [Applause.] All agreed on this except South Carolina and Georgia, and in order to preserve harmony, and from the necessity of the case, these expressions were omitted. Indeed, abolition societies existed as far south as Virginia; and it is a well-known fact that Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Lee, Henry, Mason, and Pendleton[1] were qualified Abolitionists, and much more radical on that subject than we of the Whig and Democratic parties claim to be to-day. On March 1, 1784, Virginia ceded to the confederation all its lands lying northwest of the Ohio River. Jefferson, Chase of Maryland, and Howell of Rhode Island, as a committee on that and territory thereafter *to be ceded*, reported that no slavery should exist after the year 1800. Had this report been adopted, not only the Northwest, but Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi also would have been free; but it required the assent of nine states to ratify it. North Carolina was divided, and thus its vote was lost; and Delaware, Georgia, and New Jersey refused to vote. In point of fact, as it was, it was assented to by six States. Three years later, on a square vote to exclude slavery from the Northwest, only one vote, and that from New York, was against it. And yet, thirty-seven years later, five thousand citizens of Illinois out of a voting mass of less than twelve thousand, deliberately, after a long and

[1] All citizens of Virginia.

heated contest, voted to introduce slavery in Illinois; and, to-day, a large party in the free State of Illinois are willing to vote to fasten the shackles of slavery on the fair domain of Kansas, notwithstanding it received the dowry of freedom long before its birth as a political community. I repeat, therefore, the question, Is it not plain in what direction we are tending? [Sensation.] In the colonial time, Mason, Pendleton, and Jefferson were as hostile to slavery in Virginia as Otis, Ames, and the Adamses were in Massachusetts; and Virginia made as earnest an effort to get rid of it as old Massachusetts did. But circumstances were against them and they failed; but not that the good-will of its leading men was lacking. Yet within less than fifty years Virginia changed its tune, and made negro-breeding for the cotton and sugar States one of its leading industries. [Laughter and applause.]

15. In the Constitutional Convention, George Mason of Virginia made a more violent abolition speech than my friends Lovejoy [1] or Codding [1] would desire to make here to-day — a speech which could not be safely repeated anywhere on Southern soil in this enlightened year. But while there were some differences of opinion on this subject even then, discussion was allowed; but

[1] Owen Lovejoy (1811–1864), brother of the murdered Elijah P. Lovejoy, was an abolition leader elected to the Illinois legislature in 1854, and to Congress in 1856 where he served until his death. Ichabod Codding (1811–1866) was a fiery speaker for the abolition cause when only a student in Middlebury College; for some time he was agent and lecturer of the Anti-Slavery Society in New York and New England. He moved West in 1842, became a Congregational clergyman, and held pastorates in several towns in Illinois.

as you see by the Kansas slave code, which, as you know, is the Missouri slave code, merely ferried across the river, it is a felony to even express an opinion hostile to that foul blot in the land of Washington and the Declaration of Independence. [Sensation.]

16. In Kentucky — my State — in 1849, on a test vote, the mighty influence of Henry Clay [1] and many other good men there could not get a symptom of expression in favor of gradual emancipation on a plain issue of marching toward the light of civilization with Ohio and Illinois; but the State of Boone [2] and Hardin [2] and Henry Clay, with a *nigger* under each arm, took the black trail toward the deadly swamps of barbarism. Is there — can there be — any doubt about this thing? And is there any doubt that we must all lay aside our prejudices and march, shoulder to shoulder, in the great army of Freedom? [Applause.]

17. Every Fourth of July our young orators all proclaim this to be "the land of the *free* and the home of the brave!" Well, now, when you orators get that off next year, and, may be, this very year, how would you like some old grizzled farmer to get up in the grove and deny it? [Laughter.] How would you like that?

[1] Henry Clay (1777–1852) was for many years Speaker of the national House of Representatives and later United States Senator, from Kentucky; supported the Missouri Compromise of 1820; was a candidate for the Presidency in 1824, 1832, and 1844; was Secretary of State under J. Q. Adams; introduced the Compromise of 1833 to prevent nullification by South Carolina; in his "Raleigh letter" of 1844 opposed the annexation of Texas; introduced the Compromise of 1850.

[2] Daniel Boone (1735–1820) and John Hardin (1753–1792) were famous Kentucky pioneers.

But suppose Kansas comes in as a slave State, and all the "border ruffians" have barbecues about it, and free-State men come trailing back to the dishonored North, like whipped dogs with their tails between their legs, it is — ain't it? — evident that this is no more the "land of the free"; and if we let it go so, we won't dare to say "home of the brave" out loud. [Sensation and confusion.]

18. Can any man doubt that, even in spite of the people's will, slavery will triumph through violence, unless that will be made manifest and enforced? Even Governor Reeder [1] claimed at the outset that the contest in Kansas was to be fair, but he got his eyes open at last; and I believe that, as a result of this moral and physical violence, Kansas will soon apply for admission as a slave State. And yet we can't mistake that the people don't want it so, and that it is a land which is free both by natural and political law. *No law is free law!* Such is the understanding of all Christendom. In the Somerset case, decided nearly a century ago, the great Lord Mansfield held that slavery was of such a nature that it must take its rise in *positive* (as distinguished from *natural*) law; and that in no country or age could it be traced back to any other source. Will some one please tell me where is the *positive* law

[1] Andrew H. Reeder (1807–1864) a Pennsylvania Democrat, was appointed the first governor of Kansas Territory in 1854; dismissed by President Pierce, he became a resident of Lawrence, Kansas, and was elected a delegate to Congress. In July, 1856, a legislature formed of the Free State Party under the Topeka constitution elected him to the United States Senate, but he was not permitted to take his seat. He was present in Lincoln's audience.

that establishes slavery in Kansas? [A voice: "The *bogus* laws."] Aye, the *bogus* laws![1] And, on the same principle, a gang of Missouri horse-thieves could come into Illinois and declare horse-stealing to be legal [Laughter], and it would be just as legal as slavery is in Kansas. But by express statute, in the land of Washington and Jefferson, we may soon be brought face to face with the discreditable fact of showing to the world by our acts that we prefer slavery to freedom — darkness to light! [Sensation.]

19. It is, I believe, a principle in law that when one party to a contract violates it so grossly as to chiefly destroy the object for which it is made, the other party may rescind it. I will ask Browning[2] if that ain't good law. [Voices. "Yes!"] Well, now if that be right, I go for rescinding the whole, entire Missouri Compromise and thus turning Missouri into a free State; and I should like to know the difference — should like for any one to point out the difference — between *our* making a free State of Missouri and *their* making a slave State of Kansas. [Great applause.] There ain't one bit of difference, except that our way would be a great mercy to humanity. But I have never said — and the Whig Party has never said — and those who oppose the Nebraska bill do not as a body say,

[1] Laws passed with the support of citizens of Missouri, known as "border ruffians," who fraudulently voted in Kansas elections in support of the pro-slavery faction.

[2] Orville H. Browning (1810–1881), a prominent Illinois lawyer and politician, who assisted Lincoln to organize the Republican Party at the Bloomington Convention.

hat they have any intention of interfering with slavery n the slave States. Our platform says just the con- rary. We allow slavery to exist in the slave States — ıot because slavery is right or good, but from the ne- essities of our Union. We grant a fugitive-slave law ecause it is so "nominated in the bond"; because ur fathers so stipulated — had to — and we are bound o carry out this agreement. But they did not agree o introduce slavery in regions where it did not pre- iously exist. On the contrary, they said by their xample and teachings that they did not deem it ex- edient — did not consider it right — to do so; and t is wise and right to do just as they did about it Voices: "Good!"], and that is what we propose — ıot to interfere with slavery where it exists (we have ıever tried to do it), and to give them a reasonable ınd efficient fugitive-slave law. [A voice: "No!"] say YES! [Applause.] It was part of the bargain, ınd I'm for living up to it; but I go no further; I'm ıot bound to do more, and I won't agree any further. Great applause.]

20. We, here in Illinois, should feel especially proud of the provision of the Missouri Compromise excluding slavery from what is now Kansas; for an Illinois man, Jesse B. Thomas, was its father. Henry Clay, who is credited with the authorship of the Compromise in general terms, did not even vote for that provision, but only advocated the ultimate admission by a second compromise; and, Thomas was, beyond all controversy, the real author of the "slavery restriction" branch of

the Compromise. To show the generosity of the Northern members toward the Southern side: on a test vote to exclude slavery from Missouri, ninety voted not to exclude, and eighty-seven to exclude, every vote from the slave States being ranged with the former and fourteen votes from the free States, of whom seven were from New England alone; while on a vote to exclude slavery from what is now Kansas, the vote was one hundred and thirty-four *for* to forty-two *against*. The scheme, as a whole, was, of course, a Southern triumph. It is idle to contend otherwise, as is now being done by the Nebraskaites; it was so shown by the votes and quite as emphatically by the expressions of representative men. Mr. Lowndes of South Carolina was never known to commit a political mistake; his was the great judgment of that section; and he declared that this measure "would restore tranquillity to the country — a result demanded by every consideration of discretion, of moderation, of wisdom, and of virtue." When the measure came before President Monroe for his approval, he put to each member of his cabinet this question: "Has Congress the constitutional power to prohibit slavery in a territory?" And John C. Calhoun and William H. Crawford from the South, equally with John Quincy Adams, Benjamin Rush, and Smith Thompson from the North, alike answered, "*Yes!*" without qualification or equivocation; and this measure, of so great consequence to the South, was passed; and Missouri was, by means of it, finally enabled to knock at the door of the Republic for an

open passage to its brood of slaves. And, in spite of this, Freedom's share is about to be taken by violence — by the force of misrepresentative votes, not called for by the popular will. What name can I, in common decency, give to this wicked transaction? [Sensation.]

21. But even then the contest was not over; for when the Missouri constitution came before Congress for its approval, it forbade any free negro or mulatto from entering the State. In short, our Illinois "black laws" were hidden away in their constitution [Laughter], and the controversy was thus revived. Then it was that Mr. Clay's talents shone out conspicuously, and the controversy that shook the Union to its foundation was finally settled to the satisfaction of the conservative parties on both sides of the line, though not to the extremists on either, and Missouri was admitted by the small majority of six in the lower House. How great a majority, do you think, would have been given had Kansas also been secured for slavery? [A voice: "A majority the other way."] "A majority the other way," is answered. Do you think it would have been safe for a Northern man to have confronted his constituents after having voted to consign both Missouri and Kansas to hopeless slavery? And yet this man Douglas, who misrepresents his constituents, and who has exerted his highest talents in that direction, will be carried in triumph through the State, and hailed with honour while applauding that act. [Three groans for "*Dug!*"] And this shows whither we are tending. This thing of slavery is more powerful than its sup-

porters — even than the high priests that minister at its altar. It debauches even our greatest men. It gathers strength, like a rolling snow-ball, by its own infamy. Monstrous crimes are committed in its name by persons collectively which they would not dare to commit as individuals. Its aggressions and encroachments almost surpass belief. In a despotism, one might not wonder to see slavery advance steadily and remorselessly into new dominions; but is it not wonderful, is it not even alarming, to see its steady advance in a land dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal"? [Sensation.]

22. It yields nothing itself; it keeps all it has, and gets all it can besides. It really came dangerously near securing Illinois in 1824; it did get Missouri in 1821. The first proposition was to admit what is now Arkansas *and* Missouri as one slave State. But the territory was divided, and Arkansas came in, without serious question, as a slave State; and afterward Missouri, not as a sort of equality, *free*, but also as a slave State. Then we had Florida and Texas; and now Kansas is about to be forced into the dismal procession. [Sensation.] And so it is wherever you look. We have not forgotten — it is but six years since — how dangerously near California came to being a slave State. Texas is a slave State,[1] and four other slave

[1] Texas was annexed in December, 1845, as a slave State. The Southern Democrats hoped that it might ultimately be divided into five states, each, of course, with two Senators. Later, however, Texas refused to be divided, thus preventing the increase in the number of pro-slavery Senators which the South desired.

States may be carved from its vast domain. And, yet, in the year 1829, slavery was abolished throughout that vast region by a royal decree of the then sovereign of Mexico. Will you please tell me by what *right* slavery exists in Texas to-day? By the same right as, and no higher or greater than, slavery is seeking dominion in Kansas: by political force — peaceful, if that will suffice; by the torch (as in Kansas) [1] and the bludgeon (as in the Senate chamber),[1] if required. And so history repeats itself; and even as slavery has kept its course by craft, intimidation, and violence in the past, so it will persist, in my judgment, until met and dominated by the will of a people bent on its restriction.

23. We have, this very afternoon, heard bitter denunciations of Brooks in Washington, and Titus, Stringfellow, Atchison, Jones, and Shannon [2] in Kansas — the battle-ground of slavery. I certainly am not going to advocate or shield them; but they and their acts are but the necessary outcome of the Nebraska law. We should reserve our highest censure for the authors of the mischief, and not for the catspaws which they use. I believe it was Shakespeare who said, "Where the offence lies, there let the axe fall"; and, in my opinion, this man Douglas and the Northern men in Congress who advocate "Nebraska" are more guilty

[1] A reference to the burning of the Eldridge House, a hotel in Lawrence, Kansas, owned by the Emigrant Aid Company, and to Brooks's attack on Sumner in the Senate of the United States. The first occurred on May 21 and the second on May 22, 1856.

[2] Pro-slavery leaders prominent in the Kansas riots.

than a thousand Joneses and Stringfellows, with all their murderous practices, can be. [Applause.]

24. We have made a good beginning here to-day. As our Methodist friends would say, "I feel it is good to be here." While extremists may find some fault with the moderation of our platform, they should recollect that "the battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift." In grave emergencies, moderation is generally safer than radicalism; and as this struggle is likely to be long and earnest, we must not, by our action, repel any who are in sympathy with us in the main, but rather win all that we can to our standard. We must not belittle nor overlook the facts of our condition — that we are new and comparatively weak, while our enemies are entrenched and relatively strong. They have the administration and the political power; and, right or wrong, at present they have the numbers. Our friends who urge an appeal to arms with so much force and eloquence, should recollect that the government is arrayed against us,[1] and that the numbers are now arrayed against us as well; or, to state it nearer to the truth, they are not yet expressly and affirmatively for us; and we should repel friends rather than gain them by anything savoring of revolutionary methods. As it now stands, we must appeal to the sober sense and patriotism of the people. We will make converts day by day; we will grow strong by calmness and moderation; we will grow strong

[1] Franklin Pierce, Democrat, of New Hampshire, President 1853–1857, a sympathizer with the slavery party, gave much assistance to the party in Kansas.

by the violence and injustice of our adversaries. And, unless truth be a mockery and justice a hollow lie, we will be in the majority after a while, and then the revolution which we will accomplish will be none the less radical from being the result of pacific measures. The battle of freedom is to be fought out on principle. Slavery is a violation of the eternal right. We have temporized with it from the necessities of our condition; but *as sure as God reigns and school children read,* THAT BLACK FOUL LIE CAN NEVER BE CONSECRATED INTO GOD'S HALLOWED TRUTH! [Immense applause lasting some time.] One of our greatest difficulties is, that men who *know* that slavery is a detestable crime and ruinous to the nation, are compelled, by our peculiar condition and other circumstances, to advocate it concretely, though damning it in the raw. Henry Clay was a brilliant example of this tendency; others of our purest statesmen are compelled to do so; and thus slavery secures actual support from those who detest it at heart. Yet Henry Clay perfected and forced through the Compromise which secured to slavery a great State as well as a political advantage. Not that he hated slavery less, but that he loved the whole Union more. As long as slavery profited by his great Compromise, the hosts of pro-slavery could not sufficiently cover him with praise; but now that this Compromise stands in their way —

> ". . . they never mention him,
> His name is never heard;
> Their lips are now forbid to speak
> That once familiar word."

25. They have slaughtered one of his most cherished measures, and his ghost would arise to rebuke them. [Great applause.]

26. Now, let us harmonize, my friends, and appeal to the moderation and patriotism of the people: to the sober second thought; to the awakened public conscience. The repeal of the sacred Missouri Compromise has installed the weapons of violence: the bludgeon, the incendiary torch, the death-dealing rifle, the bristling cannon — the weapons of kingcraft of the inquisition, of ignorance, of barbarism, of oppression. We see its fruits in the dying bed of the heroic Sumner; in the ruins of the "Free State" hotel; in the smoking embers of the *Herald of Freedom;*[1] in the free-State Governor of Kansas chained to a stake on freedom's soil like a horse-thief, for the crime of freedom.[2] [Applause.] We see it in Christian statesmen, and Christian newspapers, and Christian pulpits, applauding *the cowardly act of a low bully,* WHO CRAWLED UPON HIS VICTIM BEHIND HIS BACK AND DEALT THE DEADLY BLOW. [Sensation and applause.] We note our political demoralization in the catch-words that are coming into such common use; on the one hand, "freedom-shriekers," and sometimes "freedom-screechers" [Laughter]; and, on the other hand, "border ruffians," and that fully

[1] A newspaper office destroyed in the attack on Lawrence, May 21, 1856.

[2] In May, 1856, Governor Robinson was indicted for treason by a grand jury of pro-slavery sympathies; he was arbitrarily arrested at Lexington, Missouri, and was then taken to Lecompton, Kansas, a pro-slavery town, where he was held a prisoner for four months. Mrs. Robinson was in Lincoln's audience.

deserved. And the significance of catch-words cannot pass unheeded, for they constitute a sign of the times. Everything in this world "jibes" in with everything else, and all the fruits of this Nebraska bill are like the poisoned source from which they come. I will not say that we may not sooner or later be compelled to meet force by force; but the time has not yet come, and if we are true to ourselves, may never come. Do not mistake that the ballot is stronger than the bullet. Therefore let the legions of slavery use bullets; but let us wait patiently till November, and fire ballots at them in return; and by that peaceful policy, I believe we shall ultimately win. [Applause.]

27. It was by that policy that here in Illinois the early fathers fought the good fight and gained the victory. In 1824 the free men of our State, led by Governor Coles (who was a native of Maryland and President Madison's private secretary), determined that those beautiful groves should never re-echo the dirge of one who has no title to himself. By their resolute determination, the winds that sweep across our broad prairies shall never cool the parched brow, nor shall the unfettered streams that bring joy and gladness to our free soil water the tired feet, of a *slave;* but so long as those heavenly breezes and sparkling streams bless the land, or the groves and their fragrance or their memory remain, the humanity to which they minister SHALL BE FOREVER FREE! [Great applause.] Palmer, Yates, Williams, Browning, and some more in this convention came from Kentucky to Illinois

(instead of going to Missouri), not only to better their conditions, but also to get away from slavery. They have said so to me, and it is understood among us Kentuckians that we don't like it one bit. Now, can we, mindful of the blessings of liberty which the early men of Illinois left to us, refuse a like privilege to the free men who seek to plant Freedom's banner on our Western outposts? ["No! No!"] Should we not stand by our neighbours who seek to better their conditions in Kansas and Nebraska? ["Yes! Yes!"] Can we as Christian men, and strong and free ourselves, wield the sledge or hold the iron which is to manacle anew an already oppressed race? ["No! No!"] "Woe unto them," it is written, "that decree unrighteous decrees and that write grievousness which they have prescribed." Can we afford to sin any more deeply against human liberty? ["No! No!"]

28. One great trouble in the matter is, that slavery is an insidious and crafty power, and gains equally by open violence of the brutal as well as by sly management of the peaceful. Even after the ordinance of 1787,[1] the settlers in Indiana and Illinois (it was all one government then) tried to get Congress to allow slavery temporarily, and petitions to that end were sent from Kaskaskia, and General Harrison, the Governor, urged it from Vincennes, the capital. If that had succeeded, good-bye to liberty here. But John Randolph of Vir-

[1] An ordinance framed by the Continental Congress for the organization and government of territory now comprising the States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin. This ordinance forbade slavery in the territory.

ginia made a vigorous report against it; and although they persevered so well as to get three favorable reports for it, yet the United States Senate, with the aid of some slave States, finally *squelched* it for good. [Applause.] And that is why this hall is to-day a temple for free men instead of a negro livery stable. [Great applause and laughter.] Once let slavery get planted in a locality, by ever so weak or doubtful a title, and in ever so small numbers, and it is like the Canada thistle or Bermuda grass — you can't root it out. You yourself may detest slavery; but your neighbor has five or six slaves, and he is an excellent neighbor, or your son has married his daughter, and they beg you to help save their property, and you vote against your interest and principles to accommodate a neighbor, hoping that your vote will be on the losing side. And others do the same; and in those ways slavery gets a sure foothold. And when that is done the whole mighty Union — the force of the nation — is committed to its support. And that very process is working in Kansas to-day. And you must recollect that the slave property is worth a billion of dollars ($1,000,000,000); while free-State men must work for sentiment alone. Then there are "blue lodges"[1] — as they call them — everywhere doing their secret and deadly work.

29. It is a very strange thing, and not solvable by any moral law that I know of, that if a man loses his

[1] Secret organizations of pro-slavery men in Missouri whose members were bound by oaths to extend slavery into Kansas.

horse, the whole country will turn out to help hang the thief; but if a man but a shade or two darker than I am is himself stolen, the same crowd will hang one who aids in restoring him to liberty. Such are the inconsistencies of slavery, where a horse is more sacred than a man; and the essence of *squatter* or popular sovereignty [1] — I don't care how you call it — is that if one man chooses to make a slave of another, no third man shall be allowed to object. And if you can do this in free Kansas, and it is allowed to stand, the next thing you will see is ship-loads of negroes from Africa at the wharf at Charleston; for one thing is as truly lawful as the other; and these are the bastard notions we have got to stamp out, else they will stamp us out. [Sensation and applause.]

30. Two years ago, at Springfield, Judge Douglas avowed that Illinois came into the Union as a slave State, and that slavery was weeded out by the operation of his great, patent, everlasting principle of "popular sovereignty." [Laughter.] Well, now, that argument must be answered, for it has a little grain of truth at the bottom. I do not mean that it is true in essence, as he would have us believe. It could not be essentially true if the ordinance of '87 was valid. But, in point of fact, there were some degraded beings called slaves in Kaskaskia and the other French settlements when our first State constitution was adopted; that is a fact, and I don't deny it. Slaves were brought here as early as 1720, and were kept here in spite of

[1] See Appendix A.

the ordinance of 1787 against it. But slavery did not thrive here. On the contrary, under the influence of the ordinance, the number *decreased* fifty-one from 1810 to 1820; while under the influence of *squatter* sovereignty, right across the river in Missouri, they *increased* seven thousand two hundred and eleven in the same time; and slavery finally faded out in Illinois, under the influence of the law of freedom, while it grew stronger and stronger in Missouri, under the law or practice of "popular sovereignty." In point of fact there were but one hundred and seventeen slaves in Illinois one year after its admission, or one to every four hundred and seventy of its population; or, to state it in another way, if Illinois was a slave State in 1820, so were New York and New Jersey much greater slave States from having had greater numbers, slavery having been established there in very early times. But there is this vital difference between all these States and the judge's Kansas experiment: that they sought to disestablish slavery which had been already established, while the judge seeks, so far as he can, to disestablish freedom, which had been established there by the Missouri Compromise. [Voices: "Good!"]

31. The Union is undergoing a fearful strain; but it is a stout old ship, and has weathered many a hard blow, and "the stars in their courses," aye, an invisible power, greater than the puny efforts of men, will fight for us. But we ourselves must not decline the burden of responsibility, nor take counsel of unworthy passions. Whatever duty urges us to do or to omit, must be done

or omitted; and the recklessness with which our adversaries break the laws, or counsel their violation, should afford no example for us. Therefore, let us revere the Declaration of Independence; let us continue to obey the Constitution and the laws; let us keep step to the music of the Union. Let us draw a cordon, so to speak, around the slave States, and the hateful institution, like a reptile poisoning itself, will perish by its own infamy. [Applause.]

32. But we cannot be free men if this is, by our national choice, to be a land of slavery. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves; and, under the rule of a just God, cannot long retain it. [Loud applause.]

33. Did you ever, my friends, seriously reflect upon the speed with which we are tending downward? Within the memory of men now present the leading statesmen of Virginia could make genuine, red-hot abolitionist speeches in old Virginia; and, as I have said, now even in "free Kansas" it is a crime to declare that it is "free Kansas." The very sentiments that I and others have just uttered would entitle us, and each of us, to the ignominy and seclusion of a dungeon; and yet I suppose that, like Paul, we were "free born." But if this thing is allowed to continue, it will be but one step further to impress the same rule in Illinois. [Sensation.]

34. The conclusion of all is, that we must restore the Missouri Compromise. We must highly resolve that *Kansas must be free!* [Great applause.] We must

reinstate the birthday promise of the Republic; we must reaffirm the Declaration of Independence; we must make good in essence as well as in form Madison's avowal that "the word *slave*[1] ought not to appear in the Constitution"; and we must even go further, and decree that only local law, and not that time-honored instrument, shall shelter a slaveholder. We must make this a land of liberty in fact, as it is in name. But in seeking to attain these results — so indispensable if the liberty which is our pride and boast shall endure — we will be loyal to the Constitution and to the "flag of our Union," and no matter what our grievance — even though Kansas shall come in as a slave State; and no matter what theirs — even if we shall restore the Compromise — WE WILL SAY TO THE SOUTHERN DISUNIONISTS, WE WON'T GO OUT OF THE UNION, AND YOU SHAN'T!!! [This was the climax; the audience rose to its feet *en masse*, applauded, stamped, waved handkerchiefs, threw hats in the air, and ran riot for several minutes. The arch-enchanter who wrought this transformation looked, meanwhile, like the personification of political justice.]

35. But let us, meanwhile, appeal to the sense and patriotism of the people, and not to their prejudices; let us spread the floods of enthusiasm here aroused all over these vast prairies, so suggestive of freedom. Let us commence by electing the gallant soldier Governor

[1] The actual phrase in Article IV of the Constitution is "person held to service or labor." Lincoln discusses the covert language of the Constitution in the fourth Lincoln-Douglas Debate, Federal Edition IV, 253-254.

(Colonel) Bissell who stood for the honor of our State alike on the plains and amidst the chaparral of Mexico and on the floor of Congress, while he defied the Southern Hotspur;[1] and that will have a greater moral effect than all the border ruffians can accomplish in all their raids on Kansas. There is both a power and a magic in popular opinion. To that let us now appeal; and while, in all probability, no resort to force will be needed, our moderation and forbearance will stand us in good stead when, if ever, WE MUST MAKE AN APPEAL TO BATTLE AND TO THE GOD OF HOSTS!! [Immense applause and a rush for the orator.]

LINCOLN'S DEFINITION OF DEMOCRACY

[*August 1?*], *1858*

As I would not be a *slave*, so I would not be a *master*. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy.

A. LINCOLN

[1] Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, who challenged Bissell to a duel when both men were members of the House of Representatives. "In accepting the challenge Mr. Bissell chose as the weapons muskets, at thirty paces, whereupon the friends of Mr. Davis interfered."

THE LINCOLN–DOUGLAS DEBATES

From Lincoln's reëntrance into politics in 1854 he and Douglas were antagonists. Such speeches as he made from 1854 to 1857 were made in opposition to measures which Douglas had initiated or supported, — the Peoria speech of 1854, the Springfield speech of the same year, the Bloomington speech, the speeches at Springfield in 1857, and in 1856 and 1857 many others which have not been preserved, delivered throughout the state.

When the Senatorial campaign began in 1858, Lincoln and Douglas were rival candidates. At Springfield, June 17, the day of his nomination, Lincoln made a remarkable address beginning with the statement, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." His argument was that the Union must become either all slave or all free, and that, when taken together, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, with its repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the decision in the Dred Scott case, and the affair of the Lecompton Constitution, pointed to a conspiracy to legislate slavery into all the United States. This speech gave the keynote for the campaign. In later speeches which Lincoln made at Chicago and Springfield, and in speeches made by Douglas at Chicago, Bloomington, and Springfield, the two men were attacking each other vigorously. Finally, at the end of July, Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of joint debates. Douglas accepted. The debates were held in different counties throughout the states as follows: (1) at Ottawa, August 21; (2) at Freeport, August 27; (3) at Jonesboro, September 15; (4) at Charleston, September 18; (5) at Galesburgh, October 7; (6) at Quincy, October 13; and (7) at Alton, October 15. The arrangement was that one candidate should speak for an hour, the second for an hour and a half, and the first again for a half hour, Douglas seeing to it that he should have the advantage of opening and closing in four of the seven debates.

A graphic picture of the typical scene at these debates is given in Miss Tarbell's *Life of Lincoln*, II, 106:

"On arrival at the towns where the joint debates were held, Douglas was always met by a brass band and a salute of thirty-two guns (the Union was composed of thirty-two States in 1858), and was escorted to the hotel in the finest equipage to be had.

Lincoln's supporters took delight in showing their contempt of Douglas's elegance by affecting a Republican simplicity, often carrying their candidate through the streets on a high and unadorned hay-rack drawn by farm horses. The scenes in the towns on the occasion of the debates were perhaps never equalled at any of the hustings of this country. No distance seemed too great for the people to go; no vehicle too slow or fatiguing. At Charleston there was a great delegation of men, women, and children present which had come in a long procession from Indiana by farm wagons, afoot, on horseback, and in carriages. The crowds at three or four of the debates were for that day immense. There were estimated to be from eight thousand to fourteen thousand people at Quincy, some six thousand at Alton, from ten thousand to fifteen thousand at Charleston, some twenty thousand at Ottawa. . . .

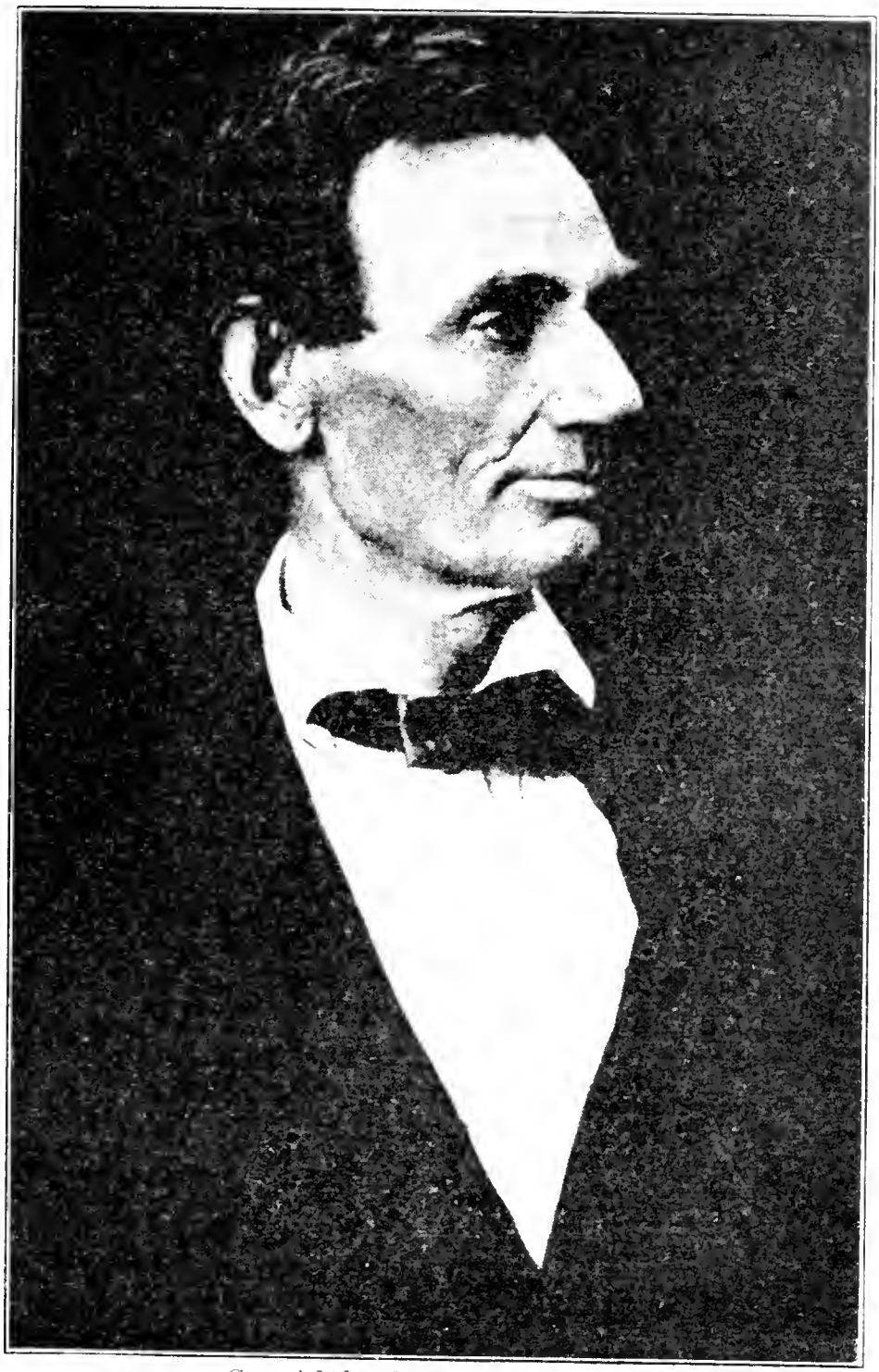
"When the crowd was massed at the place of debate, the scene was one of the greatest hubbub and confusion. On the corners of the squares, and scattered around the outskirts of the crowd, were fakirs of every description, selling pain-killers and ague cures, watermelons and lemonade; jugglers and beggars plied their trades, and the brass bands of all the four corners within twenty-five miles tooted and pounded at 'Hail Columbia, Happy Land,' or 'Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean.'"

The subject matter of these debates was roughly as follows:

I. Arguments of political principle
   - *A.* Is slavery right or wrong?
   - *B.* Should the negroes have social and political equality with the whites?
   - *C.* Are slavery and union incompatible?

II. Arguments upon the history of slavery
   - *A.* What was the intention of the fathers in regard to slavery?
   - *B.* What were the nature and purpose of "popular sovereignty," and what would be its effect?

III. An argument concerning present and future policy in regard to slavery
   - *A.* Did current legislation indicate a conspiracy to extend slavery into the whole United States?



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LINCOLN IN 1860

IV. Personal charges of bad faith and bad conduct
   A. That Lincoln was a trimmer in politics and a traitor to his party.
   B. That Douglas had forged a campaign document.
   C. That Douglas had conspired to secure pro-slavery legislation.

Although the debates were at first only of local interest, they assumed national importance and came to be read throughout the country. Douglas was elected Senator, but Lincoln had become a national figure. There was consolation for Lincoln, also, in the fact that the Republicans elected their state ticket by a majority of some 4000 votes and their Congressional candidates in the first four districts by large majorities. The vote for Senator in the legislature stood Douglas 54, Lincoln 46.

THE FIRST LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS DEBATE

At Ottawa, Ill., Aug. 21, 1858

Mr. Douglas's Opening Speech

1. *Ladies and Gentlemen,* — I appear before you to-day for the purpose of discussing the leading political topics which now agitate the public mind. By an arrangement between Mr. Lincoln and myself, we are present here to-day for the purpose of having a joint discussion, as the representatives of the two great political parties of the State and Union, upon the principles in issue between those parties; and this vast concourse of people shows the deep feeling which pervades the public mind in regard to the questions dividing us.

2. Prior to 1854, this country was divided into two great political parties, known as the Whig and Democratic parties. Both were national and patriotic, advocating principles that were universal in their application. An old-line Whig could proclaim his principles in Louisiana and Massachusetts alike. Whig principles had no boundary sectional line: they were not limited by the Ohio River, nor by the Potomac, nor by the line of the free and slave States, but applied and were pro-

claimed wherever the Constitution ruled or the American flag waved over the American soil. So it was and so it is with the great Democratic party, which, from the days of Jefferson until this period, has proven itself to be the historic party of this nation. While the Whig and Democratic parties differed in regard to a bank, the tariff, distribution, the specie circular, and the sub-treasury, they agreed on the great slavery question which now agitates the Union. I say that the Whig party and the Democratic party agreed on the slavery question, while they differed on those matters of expediency to which I have referred. The Whig party and the Democratic party jointly adopted the compromise measures of 1850 as the basis of a proper and just solution [1] of the slavery question in all its forms. Clay was the great leader, with Webster on his right and Cass on his left, and sustained by the patriots in the Whig and Democratic ranks who had devised and enacted the compromise measures of 1850.

3. In 1851 the Whig party and the Democratic party united in Illinois in adopting resolutions indorsing and approving the principles of the compromise measures of 1850 as the proper adjustment of that question. In 1852, when the Whig party assembled in convention at Baltimore for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the presidency, the first thing it did was to declare the compromise measures of 1850, in substance and in principle, a suitable adjustment of that question. [Here the speaker was interrupted by loud and long-continued applause.] My friends, silence will be more acceptable to me in the discussion of these questions than applause. I desire to address myself to your judgment, your understanding, and your consciences, and not to your passions or your enthusiasm. When the Democratic convention assembled in Baltimore in the same year, for the purpose of nominating a Democratic candidate for the presidency, it also adopted the compromise measures of 1850 as the basis of Democratic action. Thus you see [2] that up

[1] A typical misstatement. The Compromise was not thought of by either party as a solution of the slavery question. Feeling was so strong that the question could not be *solved* at this time and had to be *compromised* instead.

[2] Douglas first misrepresents the Compromise Bill of 1850 and then bases a train of reasoning upon the misrepresentation.

to 1853–54 the Whig party and the Democratic party both stood on the same platform with regard to the slavery question. That platform was the right of the people of each State and each Territory to decide their local and domestic institutions for themselves, subject only to the Federal Constitution.

4. During the session of Congress of 1853–54 I introduced into the Senate of the United States a bill to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska on that principle which had been adopted in the compromise measures of 1850,[1] approved by the Whig party and the Democratic party in Illinois in 1851, and indorsed by the Whig party and the Democratic party in national convention in 1852. In order that there might be no misunderstanding in relation to the principle involved in the Kansas and Nebraska bill, I put forth the true intent and meaning of the act in these words: "It is the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory, or to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Federal Constitution." Thus you see that up to 1854, when the Kansas and Nebraska bill was brought into Congress for the purpose of carrying out the principles which both parties had up to that time indorsed and approved, there had been no division in this country in regard to that principle except the opposition of the Abolitionists. In the House of Representatives of the Illinois legislature, upon a resolution[2] asserting that principle, every Whig and every Democrat in the House voted in the affirmative, and only four men voted against it, and those four were old-line Abolitionists.

5. In 1854 Mr. Abraham Lincoln and Mr. Lyman Trumbull entered into an arrangement, one with the other, and each with his respective friends, to dissolve the old Whig party on the one

[1] As untrue as the statements which precede it. The principle was first clearly announced in this Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 and was immediately opposed. See Appendix A, Popular Sovereignty and Compromise of 1850.

[2] Douglas does not give the date of this resolution. Presumably it referred to the Clay Compromise of 1850 and not to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854. We know from Lincoln's Bloomington Address that some Illinois Democrats opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; we know that many Illinois Whigs opposed the bill.

hand, and to dissolve the old Democratic party on the other, and to connect the members of both into an Abolition party, under the name and disguise of a Republican party.[1] The terms of that arrangement between Lincoln and Trumbull have been published by Lincoln's special friend, James H. Matheny, Esq.; and they were that Lincoln should have General Shields's place in the United States Senate, which was then about to become vacant, and that Trumbull should have my seat when my term expired. Lincoln went to work to Abolitionize the Old Whig party all over the State, pretending that he was then as good a Whig as ever; and Trumbull went to work in his part of the State preaching Abolitionism in its milder and lighter form, and trying to Abolitionize the Democratic party, and bring old Democrats handcuffed and bound hand and foot into the Abolition camp. In pursuance of the arrangement the parties met at Springfield in October, 1854, and proclaimed their new platform. Lincoln was to bring into the Abolition camp the old-line Whigs, and transfer them over to Giddings, Chase, Fred Douglass, and Parson Lovejoy,[2] who were ready to receive them and

[1] This charge of an arrangement between Trumbull and Lincoln was false, though it is true that Matheny had (as Lincoln said in the third debate, at Jonesboro, September 15) done "some such immoral thing as to tell a story that he knew nothing about." For the facts about this election see the introduction to the Bloomington Speech and also Lincoln's letter to E. B. Washburne, Feb. 9, 1855.

[2] Joshua R. Giddings (1795–1864) of Ohio, as a member of Congress 1838–1859 opposed the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and other measures for the extension of slavery.

Salmon P. Chase (1808–1873) of Ohio, as early as 1837 acted as attorney for a fugitive slave; helped to found the Liberty Party in 1841 as a protest against the encroachments of slavery; presided over the first national convention of the Free Soil Party in 1848; was United States Senator 1849–1855; opposed the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; was Governor of Ohio 1855–1861; was a prominent candidate for the Presidency in the Republican convention of 1860; was Secretary of the Treasury in Lincoln's cabinet 1861–1864; succeeded Taney as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1864.

Frederick Douglass (1817–1895), whose mother was a negro slave and whose father a white man, began lecturing for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in 1841; in 1845–1846 lectured upon slavery

christen them in their new faith. They laid down on that occasion a platform for their new Republican party, which was thus to be constructed. I have the resolutions of the State convention then held,[1] which was the first mass State convention ever held in Illinois by the Black Republican party; and I now hold them in my hands and will read a part of them, and cause the others to be printed. Here are the most important and material resolutions of this Abolition platform: —

1. *Resolved*, That we believe this truth to be self-evident, that, when parties become subversive of the ends for which they are established, or incapable of restoring the government to the true principles of the Constitution, it is the right and duty of the people to dissolve the political bands by which they may have been connected therewith, and to organize new parties upon such principles and with such views as the circumstances and the exigencies of the nation may demand.

2. *Resolved*, That the times imperatively demand the reorganization of parties, and, repudiating all previous party attachments, names, and predilections, we unite ourselves together in defence of the liberty and Constitution of the country, and will hereafter co-operate as the Republican party, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes: to bring the administration of the government back to the control of first principles; to restore Nebraska and Kansas to the position of free Territories; that, as the Constitution of the United States vests in the States, and not in Congress, the power to legislate for the extradition of fugitives from labor, to repeal and entirely abrogate the Fugitive-Slave law; to restrict slavery to those States in which it exists; to prohibit the admission of any more slave States into the Union; to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; to exclude slavery from all the Territories over which the general government has exclusive jurisdiction; and to resist the

in England and upon the continent of Europe; in 1847 became editor of an anti-slavery newspaper in Rochester, New York; in 1861 urged Lincoln to employ colored troops and to emancipate the slaves.

Owen Lovejoy (1811–1864) was an Abolition leader elected to the Illinois legislature in 1854 and to Congress in 1856.

[1] Douglas is again misstating facts. For an account of the first State Convention of the Republican party see introduction to the Bloomington Speech. The Chicago *Press and Tribune* denounced as a forgery Douglas's quotation of the alleged platform which follows in the text. Lincoln exposed the Judge in the second debate, at Freeport. See Tarbell, *Life of Lincoln* II, 108–110.

acquirement of any more Territories unless the practice of slavery therein forever shall have been prohibited.

3. *Resolved*, That in furtherance of these principles we will use such constitutional and lawful means as shall seem best adapted to their accomplishment, and that we will support no man for office, under the general or State government, who is not positively and fully committed to the support of these principles, and whose personal character and conduct is not a guarantee that he is reliable, and who shall not have abjured old party allegiance and ties.

6. Now, gentlemen, your Black Republicans have cheered every one of those propositions; and yet I venture to say that you cannot get Mr. Lincoln to come out and say that he is now in favor of each one of them. That these propositions, one and all, constitute the platform of the Black Republican party of this day, I have no doubt; and, when you were not aware for what purpose I was reading them, your Black Republicans cheered them as good Black Republican doctrines. My object in reading these resolutions was to put the question to Abraham Lincoln this day, whether he now stands and will stand by each article in that creed, and carry it out. I desire to know whether Mr. Lincoln to-day stands as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive-Slave law. I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to-day, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more slave States into the Union, even if the people want them. I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make. I want to know whether he stands to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different States. I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States, north as well as south of the Missouri Compromise line. I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is prohibited therein. I want his answer to these questions. Your affirmative cheers in favor of this Abolition platform are not satisfactory. I ask Abraham Lincoln to answer these questions, in order that, when I trot him down to lower Egypt, I may put the same questions to him. My principles are the same every-

where. I can proclaim them alike in the North, the South, the East, and the West. My principles will apply wherever the Constitution prevails and the American flag waves. I desire to know whether Mr. Lincoln's principles will bear transplanting from Ottawa to Jonesboro? I put these questions to him to-day distinctly, and ask an answer. I have a right to an answer; for I quote from the platform of the Republican party, made by himself and others at the time that party was formed, and the bargain made by Lincoln to dissolve and kill the Old Whig party, and transfer its members, bound hand and foot, to the Abolition party, under the direction of Giddings and Fred Douglass. In the remarks I have made on this platform, and the position of Mr. Lincoln upon it, I mean nothing personally disrespectful or unkind to that gentleman. I have known him for nearly twenty-five years. There were many points of sympathy between us when we first got acquainted. We were both comparatively boys, and both struggling with poverty in a strange land. I was a school-teacher in the town of Winchester, and he a flourishing grocery-keeper in the town of Salem. He was more successful in his occupation than I was in mine, and hence more fortunate in this world's goods.[1] Lincoln is one of those peculiar men who perform with admirable skill everything which they undertake. I made as good a school-teacher as I could, and, when a cabinet-maker, I made a good bedstead and tables, although my old boss said I succeeded better with bureaus and secretaries than with anything else; but I believe that Lincoln was always more successful in business than I, for his business enabled him to get into the legislature. I met him there, however, and had sympathy with him, because of the up-hill struggle we both had in life. He was then just as good at telling an anecdote as now. He could beat any of the boys wrestling or running a foot-race, in pitching quoits or tossing a copper; could ruin more liquor than all the boys of the town together;[2] and the dignity and

[1] As a matter of fact the business in which Lincoln was engaged was a failure, and in consequence Lincoln assumed an indebtedness of $1100. It took him fifteen years to pay this "national debt," as he called it. Even in 1848 he was sending home money to be applied on the debt.

[2] Under a cloak of friendliness Douglas is abusing Lincoln's personal character. As early as 1842 Lincoln was an avowed supporter of the temperance movement.

impartiality with which he presided at a horse-race or fist-fight excited the admiration and won the praise of everybody that was present and participated. I sympathized with him because he was struggling with difficulties, and so was I. Mr. Lincoln served with me in the legislature in 1836, when we both retired;[1] and he subsided or became submerged, and he was lost sight of as a public man for some years. In 1846, when Wilmot introduced his celebrated proviso,[2] and the Abolition tornado swept over the country, Lincoln again turned up as a member of Congress from the Sangamon district. I was then in the Senate of the United States, and was glad to welcome my old friend and companion. Whilst in Congress, he distinguished himself by his opposition to the Mexican War,[3] taking the side of the common enemy against his own country; and, when he returned home, he found that the indignation of the people followed him everywhere, and he was again submerged, or obliged to retire into private life,[4] forgotten by his former friends. He came up again in 1854, just in time to make this Abolition or Black Republican platform, in company with Giddings, Lovejoy, Chase, and Fred Douglass, for the Republican party to stand upon. Trumbull, too, was one of our own contemporaries. He was born and raised in old Connecticut, was bred a Federalist, but, removing to Georgia, turned Nullifier when nullification was popular, and, as soon as he disposed of his clocks and wound up his business, migrated to Illinois, turned politician and lawyer here, and made his appearance in 1841 as a member of the legislature. He became noted as the author of the scheme to repudiate a large portion of the State debt of Illinois, which, if successful, would have brought infamy and disgrace upon the fair escutcheon of our glorious State. The odium attached to that measure consigned him to oblivion for a time. I helped to do it. I walked into a public meeting in the hall of the House of Representatives,

[1] Lincoln was elected to the Illinois State Legislature in 1834, and reëlected in 1836, 1838, and 1840, after which he declined further election.

[2] See Appendix A.

[3] Regarding Lincoln's attitude toward the Mexican War see his Autobiography published in this volume.

[4] Lincoln retired in accordance with an agreement made with Whig friends before his election. See the Autobiography.

and replied to his repudiating speeches, and resolutions were carried over his head denouncing repudiation, and asserting the moral and legal obligation of Illinois to pay every dollar of the debt she owed and every bond that bore her seal. Trumbull's malignity has followed me since I thus defeated his infamous scheme.

7. These two men, having formed this combination to Abolitionize the Old Whig party and the old Democratic party, and put themselves into the Senate of the United States, in pursuance of their bargain, are now carrying out that arrangement. Matheny states that Trumbull broke faith; that the bargain was that Lincoln should be the senator in Shields's place, and Trumbull was to wait for mine; and the story goes that Trumbull cheated Lincoln, having control of four or five Abolitionized Democrats who were holding over in the Senate. He would not let them vote for Lincoln, which obliged the rest of the Abolitionists to support him in order to secure an Abolition senator. There are a number of authorities for the truth of this besides Matheny, and I suppose that even Mr. Lincoln will not deny it.

8. Mr. Lincoln demands that he shall have the place intended for Trumbull, as Trumbull cheated him and got his; and Trumbull is stumping the State, traducing me for the purpose of securing the position for Lincoln, in order to quiet him. It was in consequence of this arrangement that the Republican convention was impanelled to instruct for Lincoln and nobody else; and it was on this account that they passed resolutions that he was their first, their last, and their only choice. Archy Williams was nowhere, Browning was nobody, Wentworth was not to be considered; they had no man in the Republican party for the place except Lincoln,[1] for the reason that he demanded that they should carry out the arrangement.

9. Having formed this new party for the benefit of deserters from Whiggery and deserters from Democracy, and having laid down the Abolition platform which I have read, Lincoln now takes his stand and proclaims his Abolition doctrines. Let me read a part of them. In his speech at Springfield to the convention which nominated him for the Senate [2] he said: —

[1] Douglas is here attempting to stir up factional enmity among leaders of the Republican party and turn it against Lincoln.

[2] June 17, 1858, two months before the present debate.

In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, — I do not expect the house to fall, — but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, — old as well as new, North as well as South. ["Good," "Good," and cheers.]

10. I am delighted to hear you Black Republicans say, "Good." I have no doubt that doctrine expresses your sentiments; and I will prove to you now, if you will listen to me, that it is revolutionary and destructive of the existence of this government. Mr. Lincoln, in the extract from which I have read, says that this government cannot endure permanently in the same condition in which it was made by its framers — divided into free and slave States. He says that it has existed for about seventy years thus divided, and yet he tells you that it cannot endure permanently on the same principles and in the same relative condition in which our fathers made it. Why can it not exist divided into free and slave States? Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, Jay, and the great men of that day made this government divided into free States and slave States, and left each State perfectly free to do as it pleased on the subject of slavery. Why can it not exist on the same principles on which our fathers made it?[1] They knew when they framed the Constitution that in a country as wide and broad as this, with such a variety of climate, production, and interest, the people necessarily required different laws and institutions in different localities. They knew that the laws and regulations which would suit the granite hills of New Hampshire would be unsuited to the rice plantations of South Carolina; and they therefore provided that each State should retain its own legislature and its own sovereignty, with the full and complete power to do as it pleased within its own limits, in all that was local and not national. One of the reserved rights of the

[1] Lincoln makes this question, as Douglas restated it in a later debate, the text of his Cooper Union Address.

States was the right to regulate the relations between master and servant, on the slavery question. At the time the Constitution was framed there were thirteen States in the Union, twelve of which were slaveholding States and one a free State.[1] Suppose this doctrine of uniformity preached by Mr. Lincoln, that the States should all be free or all be slave, had prevailed; and what would have been the result? Of course, the twelve slaveholding States would have overruled the one free State; and slavery would have been fastened by a constitutional provision on every inch of the American republic, instead of being left, as our fathers wisely left it, to each State to decide for itself. Here I assert that uniformity in the local laws and institutions of the different States is neither possible nor desirable. If uniformity had been adopted when the government was established, it must inevitably have been the uniformity of slavery everywhere, or else the uniformity of negro citizenship and negro equality everywhere.

11. We are told by Lincoln that he is utterly opposed to the Dred Scott decision,[2] and will not submit to it, for the reason that he says it deprives the negro of the rights and privileges of citizenship. That is the first and main reason which he assigns for his warfare on the Supreme Court of the United States and its decision. I ask you, Are you in favor of conferring upon the negro the rights and privileges of citizenship?[3] Do you desire to strike out of our State constitution that clause which keeps slaves and free negroes out of the State, and allow the free negroes to flow in, and cover your prairies with black settlements? Do you desire to turn this beautiful State into a free negro colony, in order that, when Missouri abolishes slavery, she can send one hundred thousand emancipated slaves into Illinois, to become citizens and voters, on an equality with yourselves? If you desire negro citizenship, if you desire to

[1] Pennsylvania. Thomas Paine wrote the provision excluding slavery in the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1780.

[2] See Appendix A.

[3] Throughout the debates with Douglas, Lincoln expressed himself as against granting the negro a vote. By March 13, 1864, he had altered his opinion, for he then wrote to the Governor of Louisiana suggesting that the more intelligent negroes and those who had fought gallantly be given the suffrage.

allow them to come into the State and settle with the white man, if you desire them to vote on an equality with yourselves, and to make them eligible to office, to serve on juries, and to adjudge your rights, then support Mr. Lincoln and the Black Republican party, who are in favor of the citizenship of the negro. For one, I am opposed to negro citizenship in any and every form. I believe this government was made on the white basis. I believe it was made by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever; and I am in favor of confining citizenship to white men, men of European birth and descent, instead of conferring it upon negroes, Indians, and other inferior races.

12. Mr. Lincoln, following the example and lead of all the little Abolition orators who go around and lecture in the basements of schools and churches, reads from the Declaration of Independence that all men were created equal, and then asks how can you deprive a negro of that equality which God and the Declaration of Independence award to him? He and they maintain that negro equality is guaranteed by the laws of God, and that it is asserted in the Declaration of Independence. If they think so, of course they have a right to say so, and so vote. I do not question Mr. Lincoln's conscientious belief that the negro was made his equal, and hence is his brother; but, for my own part, I do not regard the negro as my equal, and positively deny that he is my brother or any kin to me whatever. Lincoln has evidently learned by heart Parson Lovejoy's catechism. He can repeat it as well as Farnsworth, and he is worthy of a medal from Father Giddings and Fred Douglass for his Abolitionism. He holds that the negro was born his equal and yours, and that he was endowed with equality by the Almighty, and that no human law can deprive him of these rights which were guaranteed to him by the Supreme Ruler of the universe. Now I do not believe that the Almighty ever intended the negro to be the equal of the white man. If he did, he has been a long time demonstrating the fact. For thousands of years the negro has been a race upon the earth; and during all that time, in all latitudes and climates, wherever he has wandered or been taken, he has been inferior to the race which he has there met. He belongs to an inferior race, and must always occupy an inferior position. I do not hold that, because the negro is our inferior, therefore he ought to be a slave. By no means can such a con-

clusion be drawn from what I have said. On the contrary, I hold that humanity and Christianity both require that the negro shall have and enjoy every right, every privilege, and every immunity consistent with the safety of the society in which he lives.[1] On that point, I presume, there can be no diversity of opinion. You and I are bound to extend to our inferior and dependent beings every right, every privilege, every facility and immunity consistent with the public good. The question then arises, What rights and privileges are consistent with the public good? This is a question which each State and each Territory must decide for itself. Illinois has decided it for herself. We have provided that the negro shall not be a slave; and we have also provided that he shall not be a citizen, but protect him in his civil rights, in his life, his person, and his property, only depriving him of all political rights whatsoever, and refusing to put him on an equality with the white man. That policy of Illinois is satisfactory to the Democratic party and to me, and, if it were to the Republicans, there would then be no question upon the subject; but the Republicans say that he ought to be made a citizen, and, when he becomes a citizen, he becomes your equal, with all your rights and privileges. They assert the Dred Scott decision to be monstrous because it denies that the negro is or can be a citizen under the Constitution.

13. Now I hold that Illinois had a right to abolish and prohibit slavery as she did, and I hold that Kentucky has the same right to continue and protect slavery that Illinois had to abolish it. I hold that New York had as much right to abolish slavery as Virginia has to continue it, and that each and every State of this Union is a sovereign power, with the right to do as it pleases upon this question of slavery and upon all its domestic institutions. Slavery is not the only question which comes up in this controversy. There is a far more important one to you; and that is, What shall be done with the free negro? We have settled the slavery question as far as we are concerned: we have prohibited it in Illinois forever, and, in doing so, I think we have done wisely, and there is no man in the State who would be more strenuous in his opposition to the introduction of slavery than I would; but,

[1] "Consistent with the safety of the society in which he lives" are "weasel words," susceptible of whatever interpretation be convenient.

when we settled it for ourselves, we exhausted all our power over that subject. We have done our whole duty, and can do no more. We must leave each and every other State to decide for itself the same question. In relation to the policy to be pursued toward the free negroes, we have said that they shall not vote; whilst Maine, on the other hand, has said that they shall vote. Maine is a sovereign State, and has the power to regulate the qualifications of voters within her limits. I would never consent to confer the right of voting and of citizenship upon a negro, but still I am not going to quarrel with Maine for differing from me in opinion. Let Maine take care of her own negroes, and fix the qualifications of her own voters to suit herself, without interfering with Illinois; and Illinois will not interfere with Maine. So with the State of New York. She allows the negro to vote provided he owns two hundred and fifty dollars' worth of property, but not otherwise.[1] While I would not make any distinction whatever between a negro who held property and one who did not, yet, if the sovereign State of New York chooses to make that distinction, it is her business, and not mine; and I will not quarrel with her for it. She can do as she pleases on this question if she minds her own business, and we will do the same thing. Now, my friends, if we will only act conscientiously and rigidly upon this great principle of popular sovereignty, which guarantees to each State and Territory the right to do as it pleases on all things local and domestic, instead of Congress interfering, we will continue at peace one with another. Why should Illinois be at war with Missouri, or Kentucky with Ohio, or Virginia with New York, merely because their institutions differ? Our fathers intended that our institutions should differ. They knew that the North and the South, having different climates, productions, and interests, required different institutions. This doctrine of Mr. Lincoln, of uniformity among the institutions of the different States, is a new doctrine, never dreamed of by Washington, Madison, or the framers of this government. Mr. Lincoln and the Republican party set themselves up as wiser than these men who made this government, which has flourished for seventy years under the principle of

[1] The law giving the negro who owned two hundred and fifty dollars' worth of property the vote was advocated by William Cullen Bryant in the New York *Evening Post*. It was passed in 1845.

popular sovereignty,[1] recognizing the right of each State to do as it pleased. Under that principle, we have grown from a nation of three or four millions to a nation of about thirty millions of people. We have crossed the Alleghany Mountains and filled up the whole Northwest, turning the prairie into a garden, and building up churches and schools, thus spreading civilization and Christianity where before there was nothing but savage barbarism. Under that principle we have become, from a feeble nation, the most powerful on the face of the earth; and, if we only adhere to that principle, we can go forward increasing in territory, in power, in strength, and in glory until the Republic of America shall be the north star that shall guide the friends of freedom throughout the civilized world. And why can we not adhere to the great principle of self-government upon which our institutions were originally based? I believe that this new doctrine preached by Mr. Lincoln and his party will dissolve the Union if it succeeds. They are trying to array all the Northern States in one body against the South, to excite a sectional war between the free States and the slave States, in order that the one or the other may be driven to the wall.

Lincoln's Reply

1. *My Fellow-citizens,* — When a man hears himself somewhat misrepresented, it provokes him, — at least, I find it so with myself; but, when misrepresentation becomes very gross and palpable, it is more apt to amuse him. The first thing I see fit to notice is the fact that Judge Douglas alleges, after running through the history of the old Democratic and the old Whig parties, that Judge Trumbull and myself made an arrangement in 1854 by which I was to have the place of General

[1] The principle of popular sovereignty had *not* flourished for seventy years; the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which forbade slavery in all territory north of 36° 30′ except Missouri, was a denial of the principle of popular sovereignty as understood by Douglas.

Shields[1] in the United States Senate, and Judge Trumbull was to have the place of Judge Douglas. Now all I have to say upon that subject is that I think no man — not even Judge Douglas — can prove it, because it is not true. I have no doubt he is "conscientious" in saying it. As to those resolutions that he took such a length of time to read, as being the platform of the Republican party in 1854, I say I never had anything to do with them; and I think Trumbull never had. Judge Douglas cannot show that either of us ever did have anything to do with them. I believe this is true about those resolutions. There was a call for a convention to form a Republican party at Springfield; and I think that my friend Mr. Lovejoy, who is here upon this stand, had a hand in it. I think this is true; and I think, if he will remember accurately, he will be able to recollect that he tried to get me into it, and I would not go in. I believe it is also true that I went away from Springfield, when the convention was in session, to attend court in Tazewell County. It is true they did place my name, though without authority, upon the committee, and afterward wrote me to attend the meeting of the committee; but I refused to do so, and I never had anything to do with that organization.[2]

[1] General James Shields (1810–1879), an Illinois lawyer and politician, was a Brigadier-General in the Mexican and Civil Wars. He served in the United States Senate as a Democrat from 1849 to 1855; and was candidate for reëlection in the three-cornered contest of 1854 to which Lincoln here refers. This is the same man who challenged Lincoln to a duel in 1842.

[2] In a letter of November 27, 1854, to Ichabod Codding, Lincoln asks why his name has been placed upon the Republican State Cen-

This is the plain truth about all that matter of the resolutions.

2. Now, about this story that Judge Douglas tells of Trumbull bargaining to sell out the old Democratic party, and Lincoln agreeing to sell out the Old Whig party, I have the means of knowing about that: Judge Douglas cannot have; and I know there is no substance to it whatever. Yet I have no doubt he is "conscientious" about it. I know that, after Mr. Lovejoy got into the legislature that winter, he complained of me that I had told all the Old Whigs of his district that the Old Whig party was good enough for them, and some of them voted against him because I told them so. Now I have no means of totally disproving such charges as this which the judge makes. A man cannot prove a negative; but he has a right to claim that, when a man makes an affirmative charge, he must offer some proof to show the truth of what he says. I certainly cannot introduce testimony to show the negative about things; but I have a right to claim that, if a man says he knows a thing, then he must show how he knows it. I always have a right to claim this, and it is not satisfactory to me that he may be "conscientious" on the subject.

3. Now, gentlemen, I hate to waste my time on such things, but in regard to that general Abolition tilt that Judge Douglas makes when he says that I was

tral Committee, and insists that he has not been consulted on the subject. He points out the fact that the principles expressed in his Peoria Speech are not those held by most members of the committee.

engaged at that time in selling out and Abolitionizing the Old Whig party, I hope you will permit me to read a part of a printed speech that I made then at Peoria, which will show altogether a different view of the position I took in that contest of 1854. [Voice: "Put on your specs."] Yes, sir, I am obliged to do so. I am no longer a young man.

This is the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The foregoing history may not be precisely accurate in every particular; but I am sure it is sufficiently so for all the uses I shall attempt to make of it, and in it we have before us the chief materials enabling us to correctly judge whether the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is right or wrong.

I think, and shall try to show, that it is wrong, — wrong in its direct effect, — letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, — and wrong in its prospective principle, — allowing it to spread to every other part of the wide world where man can be found inclined to take it.

This declared indifference, but, as I must think, covert real zeal for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world; enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity; and especially because it forces so many really good men amongst ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, — criticising the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest.

Before proceeding, let me say I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses of North and South. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slaves under any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew, if it were

out of existence. We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North, and become tip-top Abolitionists; while some Northern ones go South, and become most cruel slave-masters.

When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia,[1] — to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that, whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery, at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough to me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and, if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question, if, indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but, for their tardiness in this, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South.

When they remind us of their constitutional rights,[2] I ac-

[1] On May 5, 1821, territory was secured in Liberia for colonization and a colony soon established there. During his Presidency Lincoln showed great interest in this colony, and attempted, also, to send a colony of negroes to Central America. Apparently he became doubtful of the success of such attempts to solve the negro problem. See Address on Colonization, August 14, 1862, and Annual Message to Congress, December 1, 1862.

[2] The Constitution reads: "No person held to service or labor

knowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives which should not, in its stringency, be more likely to carry a free man into slavery than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one.

But all this, to my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own free territory than it would for reviving the African slave trade by law. The law which forbids the bringing of slaves from Africa, and that which has so long forbidden the taking of them to Nebraska, can hardly be distinguished in any moral principle; and the repeal of the former could find quite as plausible excuses as that of the latter.

4. I have reason to know that Judge Douglas knows that I said this. I think he has the answer here to one of the questions he put to me. I do not mean to allow him to catechise me unless he pays back for it in kind. I will not answer questions one after another, unless he reciprocates; but as he has made this inquiry, and I have answered it before, he has got it without my getting anything in return. He has got my answer on the Fugitive-Slave law.

5. Now, gentlemen, I don't want to read at any great length; but this is the true complexion of all I have ever said in regard to the institution of slavery and the black race. This is the whole of it; and anything that argues me into his idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words, by which a man can prove a horse-chestnut to be a chestnut horse. I will

in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." — Article IV, Section 2.

say here, while upon this subject, that I have no purpose, either directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists.[1] I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality; and, inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary, but I hold that, notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, — the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects, — certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.

6. Now I pass on to consider one or two more of these little follies. The judge is wofully at fault about

[1] In this Lincoln differed with the opinion of the Abolitionists. They *would* interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it existed.

his early friend Lincoln being a "grocery-keeper." I don't think that it would be a great sin if I had been; but he is mistaken. Lincoln never kept a grocery anywhere in the world.[1] It is true that Lincoln did work the latter part of one winter in a little still-house up at the head of a hollow. And so I think my friend, the judge, is equally at fault when he charges me at the time when I was in Congress of having opposed our soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican War. The judge did not make his charge very distinctly; but I tell you what he can prove, by referring to the record. You remember I was an Old Whig; and, whenever the Democratic Party tried to get me to vote that the war had been righteously begun by the President, I would not do it. But, whenever they asked for any money or land-warrants or anything to pay the soldiers there, during all that time, I gave the same vote that Judge Douglas did. You can think as you please as to whether that was consistent. Such is the truth; and the judge has the right to make all he can out of it. But when he, by a general charge, conveys the idea that I withheld supplies from the soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican War, or did anything else to hinder the soldiers, he is, to say the least, grossly and altogether mistaken, as a consultation of the records will prove to him.

[1] Apparently Lincoln is here speaking humorously or ironically. From the autumn of 1832 until early in 1834 he was, with Wm. F. Berry, joint-owner of a store where groceries and liquors were sold. Perhaps Lincoln is making a sarcastic reference to Douglas's charge that he could "ruin more liquor than all the boys of the town together."

7. As I have not used up so much of my time as I had supposed, I will dwell a little longer upon one or two of these minor topics upon which the judge has spoken. He has read from my speech in Springfield in which I say that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." Does the judge say it can stand? I don't know whether he does or not. The judge does not seem to be attending to me just now, but I would like to know if it is his opinion that a house divided against itself can stand. If he does, then there is a question of veracity, not between him and me, but between the judge and an authority of a somewhat higher character.

8. Now, my friends, I ask your attention to this matter for the purpose of saying something seriously. I know that the judge may readily enough agree with me that the maxim which was put forth by the Saviour is true, but he may allege that I misapply it; and the judge has a right to urge that in my application I do misapply it, and then I have a right to show that I do not misapply it. When he undertakes to say that because I think this nation, so far as the question of slavery is concerned, will all become one thing or all the other, I am in favor of bringing about a dead uniformity in the various States in all their institutions, he argues erroneously. The great variety of the local institutions in the States, springing from differences in the soil, differences in the face of the country, and in the climate, are bonds of union. They do not make "a house divided against itself," but they make a house united. If they produce in one section of the country

what is called for by the wants of another section, and this other section can supply the wants of the first, they are not matters of discord, but bonds of union, — true bonds of union. But can this question of slavery be considered as among these varieties in the institutions of the country? I leave it to you to say whether, in the history of our government, this institution of slavery has not always failed to be a bond of union, and, on the contrary, been an apple of discord and an element of division in the house. I ask you to consider whether, so long as the moral constitution of men's minds shall continue to be the same, after this generation and assemblage shall sink into the grave, and another race shall arise with the same moral and intellectual development we have, — whether, if that institution is standing in the same irritating position in which it now is, it will not continue an element of division.

9. If so, then I have a right to say that, in regard to this question, the Union is a house divided against itself; and when the judge reminds me that I have often said to him that the institution of slavery has existed for eighty years in some States, and yet it does not exist in some others, I agree to the fact, and I account for it by looking at the position in which our fathers originally placed it, — restricting it from the new Territories where it had not gone, and legislating to cut off its source by the abrogation of the slave trade, thus putting the seal of legislation against its spread.[1] The public mind did rest in the belief that it was in the

[1] See Cooper Union Address.

course of ultimate extinction. But lately, I think, — and in this I charge nothing on the judge's motives, — lately, I think that he, and those acting with him, have placed that institution on a new basis, which looks to the perpetuity and nationalization of slavery. And, while it is placed upon this new basis, I say, and I have said, that I believe we shall not have peace upon the question until the opponents of slavery arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or, on the other hand, that its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. Now I believe, if we could arrest the spread, and place it where Washington and Jefferson and Madison placed it, it would be in the course of ultimate extinction, and the public mind would, as for eighty years past, believe that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. The crisis would be past, and the institution might be let alone for a hundred years — if it should live so long — in the States where it exists, yet it would be going out of existence in the way best for both the black and the white races. [A voice: "Then do you repudiate popular sovereignty?"] Well, then, let us talk about popular sovereignty! What is popular sovereignty? Is it the right of the people to have slavery or not have it, as they see fit, in the Territories? I will state — and I have an able man to watch me — my understanding is that popular sovereignty, as now applied to the question of slavery, does allow the people

of a Territory to have slavery if they want to, but does not allow them not to have it if they do not want it. I do not mean that, if this vast concourse of people were in a Territory of the United States, any one of them would be obliged to have a slave if he did not want one; but I do say that, as I understand the Dred Scott decision,[1] if any one man wants slaves, all the rest have no way of keeping that one man from holding them.

10. When I made my speech at Springfield, of which the judge complains, and from which he quotes, I really was not thinking of the things which he ascribes to me at all. I had no thought in the world that I was doing anything to bring about a war between the free and slave States. I had no thought in the world that I was doing anything to bring about a political and social equality of the black and white races. It never occurred to me that I was doing anything or favoring anything to reduce to a dead uniformity all the local institutions of the various States. But I must say, in all fairness to him, if he thinks I am doing something which leads to these bad results, it is none the better that I did not mean it. It is just as fatal to the country, if I have any influence in producing it, whether I intend it or not. But can it be true that placing this institution upon the original basis — the basis upon which our fathers placed it — can have any tendency to set the Northern and the Southern States at war with one another, or that it can have any tendency to

[1] See Appendix A.

make the people of Vermont raise sugar-cane because they raise it in Louisiana, or that it can compel the people of Illinois to cut pine logs on the Grand prairie, where they will not grow, because they cut pine logs in Maine, where they do grow? The judge says this is a new principle started in regard to this question. Does the judge claim that he is working on the plan of the founders of the government? I think he says in some of his speeches — indeed, I have one here now — that he saw evidence of a policy to allow slavery to be south of a certain line, while north of it it should be excluded; and he saw an indisposition on the part of the country to stand upon that policy, and therefore he set about studying the subject upon original principles, and upon original principles he got up the Nebraska bill! I am fighting it upon these "original principles," — fighting it in the Jeffersonian, Washingtonian, and Madisonian fashion.

11. Now, my friends, I wish you to attend for a little while to one or two other things in that Springfield speech.[1] My main object was to show, so far as my humble ability was capable of showing to the people of this country, what I believed was the truth, — that there was a tendency, if not a conspiracy, among those who have engineered this slavery question for the last four or five years, to make slavery perpetual and universal in this nation. Having made that speech principally for that object, after arranging the evidences

[1] Here Lincoln turns from refutation to direct argument, making again his charge of conspiracy in the recent pro-slavery legislation.

that I thought tended to prove my proposition, I concluded with this bit of comment: —

We cannot absolutely know that these exact adaptations are the result of pre-concert; but, when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places, and by different workmen, — Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James,[1] for instance, — and when we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortises exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few, — not omitting even the scaffolding, — or if a single piece be lacking, we see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared to yet bring such piece in, — in such a case we feel it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin, and Roger and James, all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn before the first blow was struck.

12. When my friend, Judge Douglas, came to Chicago on the 9th of July, this speech having been delivered on the 16th of June, he made an harangue there in which he took hold of this speech of mine, showing that he had carefully read it; and, while he paid no attention to this matter at all, but complimented me as being a "kind, amiable, and intelligent gentleman," notwithstanding I had said this, he goes on and deduces, or draws out, from my speech this tendency of mine to set the States at war with one another, to make all the institutions uniform, and set the niggers and white people to marry together. Then, as the judge had

[1] Stephen Douglas, his opponent in these debates; Franklin Pierce, President of the United States, 1853–1857; Roger Taney, Chief Justice and author of the Dred Scott decision; James Buchanan, President of the United States, 1857–1861.

complimented me with these pleasant titles (I must confess to my weakness), I was a little "taken"; for it came from a great man. I was not very much accustomed to flattery, and it came the sweeter to me. I was rather like the Hoosier with the gingerbread, when he said he reckoned he loved it better than any other man, and got less of it. As the judge had so flattered me, I could not make up my mind that he meant to deal unfairly with me. So I went to work to show him that he misunderstood the whole scope of my speech, and that I really never intended to set the people at war with one another. As an illustration, the next time I met him, which was at Springfield, I used this expression, that I claimed no right under the Constitution, nor had I any inclination, to enter into the slave States and interfere with the institutions of slavery. He says upon that, Lincoln will not enter into the slave States, but will go to the banks of the Ohio, on this side, and shoot over! He runs on, step by step, in the horse-chestnut style of argument, until in the Springfield speech he says, "Unless he shall be successful in firing his batteries until he shall have extinguished slavery in all the States, the Union shall be dissolved." Now I don't think that was exactly the way to treat a "kind, amiable, intelligent gentleman." I know, if I had asked the judge to show when or where it was I had said that, if I didn't succeed in firing into the slave States until slavery should be extinguished, the Union should be dissolved, he could not have shown it. I understand what he would do. He would say,

"I don't mean to quote from you, but this was the result of what you say." But I have the right to ask, and I do ask now, Did you not put it in such a form that an ordinary reader or listener would take it as an expression from me?

13. In a speech at Springfield, on the night of the 17th, I thought I might as well attend to my business a little; and I recalled his attention as well as I could to this charge of conspiracy to nationalize slavery. I called his attention to the fact that he had acknowledged in my hearing twice that he had carefully read the speech; and, in the language of the lawyers,[1] as he had twice read the speech, and still had put in no plea or answer, I took a default on him. I insisted that I had a right then to renew that charge of conspiracy. Ten days afterward I met the judge at Clinton, — that is to say, I was on the ground, but not in the discussion, — and heard him make a speech. Then he comes in with his plea to this charge, for the first time; and his plea when put in, as well as I can recollect it, amounted to this: that he never had any talk with Judge Taney or the President of the United States with regard to the Dred Scott decision before it was made; I (Lincoln) ought to know that the man who makes a charge without knowing it to be true falsifies as much as he who knowingly tells a falsehood; and, lastly, that he would pronounce the whole thing a falsehood; but he would

[1] The legal terms which occur in this paragraph must have been meaningless to many in the audience, though familiar enough to Douglas, Lincoln, and the many politicians present who were lawyers.

make no personal application of the charge of falsehood, not because of any regard for the "kind, amiable, intelligent gentleman," but because of his own personal self-respect! I have understood since then (but [turning to Judge Douglas] will not hold the judge to it if he is not willing) that he has broken through the "self-respect," and has got to saying the thing out. The judge nods to me that it is so. It is fortunate for me that I can keep as good-humored as I do, when the judge acknowledges that he has been trying to make a question of veracity with me. I know the judge is a great man, while I am only a small man; but I feel that I have got him. I demur to that plea. I waive all objections that it was not filed till after default was taken, and demur to it upon the merits. What if Judge Douglas never did talk with Chief Justice Taney and the President before the Dred Scott decision was made: does it follow that he could not have had as perfect an understanding without talking as with it? I am not disposed to stand upon my legal advantage. I am disposed to take his denial as being like an answer in chancery, that he neither had any knowledge, information, nor belief in the existence of such a conspiracy. I am disposed to take his answer as being as broad as though he had put it in these words. And now, I ask, even if he had done so, have not I a right to prove it on him, and to offer the evidence of more than two witnesses, by whom to prove it; and, if the evidence proves the existence of the conspiracy, does his broad answer, denying all knowledge, information, or belief,

disturb the fact? It can only show that he was used by conspirators, and was not a leader of them.

14. Now in regard to his reminding me of the moral rule that persons who tell what they do not know to be true falsify as much as those who knowingly tell falsehoods. I remember the rule, and it must be borne in mind that in what I have read to you I do not say that I know such a conspiracy to exist. To that I reply, I believe it. If the judge says that I do not believe it, then he says what he does not know, and falls within his own rule that he who asserts a thing which he does not know to be true falsifies as much as he who knowingly tells a falsehood. I want to call your attention to a little discussion on that branch of the case, and the evidence which brought my mind to the conclusion which I expressed as my belief. If, in arraying that evidence, I had stated anything which was false or erroneous, it needed but that Judge Douglas should point it out, and I would have taken it back with all the kindness in the world. I do not deal in that way. If I have brought forward anything not a fact, if he will point it out, it will not even ruffle me to take it back. But, if he will not point out anything erroneous in the evidence, is it not rather for him to show by a comparison of the evidence that I have reasoned falsely than to call the "kind, amiable, intelligent gentleman" a liar? If I have reasoned to a false conclusion, it is the vocation of an able debater to show by argument that I have wandered to an erroneous conclusion. I want to ask your attention to a portion of the Nebraska

bill which Judge Douglas has quoted: "it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." Thereupon Judge Douglas and others began to argue in favor of "popular sovereignty," — the right of the people to have slaves if they wanted them, and to exclude slavery if they did not want them. "But," said, in substance, a senator from Ohio (Mr. Chase, I believe), "we more than suspect that you do not mean to allow the people to exclude slavery if they wish to; and, if you do mean it, accept an amendment which I propose expressly authorizing the people to exclude slavery." I believe I have the amendment here before me, which was offered, and under which the people of the Territory, through their proper representatives, might, if they saw fit, prohibit the existence of slavery therein. And now I state it as a fact, to be taken back if there is any mistake about it, that Judge Douglas and those acting with him voted that amendment down. I now think that those men who voted it down had a real reason for doing so. They know what that reason was. It looks to us, since we have seen the Dred Scott decision pronounced, holding that, "under the Constitution," the people cannot exclude slavery, — I say it looks to outsiders, poor, simple, "amiable, intelligent gentlemen," as though the niche was left as a place to put that Dred Scott de-

cision in, — a niche which would have been spoiled by adopting the amendment. And now I say again, if this was not the reason, it will avail the judge much more to calmly and good-humoredly point out to these people what that other reason was for voting the amendment down than swelling himself up to vociferate that he may be provoked to call somebody a liar.

15. Again, there is in that same quotation from the Nebraska bill this clause: "it being the true intent and meaning of this bill not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State." I have always been puzzled to know what business the word "State" had in that connection. Judge Douglas knows. He put it there. He knows what he put it there for. We outsiders cannot say what he put it there for. The law they were passing was not about States, and was not making provision for States. What was it placed there for? After seeing the Dred Scott decision, which holds that the people cannot exclude slavery from a Territory, if another Dred Scott decision shall come, holding that they cannot exclude it from a State, we shall discover that, when the word was originally put there, it was in view of something which was to come in due time, we shall see that it was the other half of something. I now say again, if there is any different reason for putting it there, Judge Douglas, in a good-humored way, without calling anybody a liar, can tell what the reason was.

16. When the judge spoke at Clinton, he came very near making a charge of falsehood against me. He used, as I found it printed in a newspaper, which, I

remember, was very nearly like the real speech, the following language: —

I did not answer the charge [of conspiracy] before for the reason that I did not suppose there was a man in America with a heart so corrupt as to believe such a charge could be true. I have too much respect for Mr. Lincoln to suppose he is serious in making the charge.

17. I confess this is rather a curious view, that out of respect for me he should consider I was making what I deemed rather a grave charge in fun. I confess it strikes me rather strangely. But I let it pass. As the judge did not for a moment believe that there was a man in America whose heart was so "corrupt" as to make such a charge, and as he places me among the "men in America" who have hearts base enough to make such a charge, I hope he will excuse me if I hunt out another charge very like this; and, if it should turn out that in hunting I should find that other, and it should turn out to be Judge Douglas himself who made it, I hope he will reconsider this question of the deep corruption of heart he has thought fit to ascribe to me. In Judge Douglas's speech of March 22, 1858, which I hold in my hand, he says: —

In this connection there is another topic to which I desire to allude. I seldom refer to the course of newspapers or notice the articles which they publish in regard to myself; but the course of the Washington *Union* [1] has been so extraordinary for the last two or three months that I think it well enough to make some allusion to it. It has read me out of the Democratic party every

[1] This paper was the official organ of President Buchanan with whom Douglas had broken over the question of the Lecompton Constitution.

other day, at least for two or three months, and keeps reading me out, and, as if it had not succeeded, still continues to read me out, using such terms as "traitor," "renegade," "deserter," and other kind and polite epithets of that nature. Sir, I have no vindication to make of my Democracy against the Washington *Union*, or any other newspaper. I am willing to allow my history and actions for the last twenty years to speak for themselves as to my political principles and my fidelity to political obligations. The Washington *Union* has a personal grievance. When the editor was nominated for public printer, I declined to vote for him, and stated that at some time I might give my reasons for doing so. Since I declined to give that vote, this scurrilous abuse, these vindictive and constant attacks, have been repeated almost daily on me. Will my friend from Michigan read the article to which I allude?

18. This is a part of the speech. You must excuse me from reading the entire article of the Washington *Union*, as Mr. Stuart read it for Mr. Douglas. The judge goes on and sums up, as I think, correctly: —

Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly by the Washington *Union* editorially, and apparently authoritatively; and any man who questions any of them is denounced as an Abolitionist, a Free Soiler, a fanatic. The propositions are, first, that the primary object of all government at its original institution is the protection of person and property; second, that the Constitution of the United States declares that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and that, therefore, thirdly, all State laws, whether organic or otherwise, which prohibit the citizens of one State from settling in another with their slave property, and especially declaring it forfeited, are direct violations of the original intention of the government and Constitution of the United States; and, fourth, that the emancipation of the slaves of the Northern States was a gross outrage on the rights of property, inasmuch as it was involuntarily done on the part of the owner.

Remember that this article was published in the *Union* on the

17th of November, and on the 18th appeared the first article giving the adhesion of the *Union* to the Lecompton Constitution.[1] It was in these words: —

"KANSAS AND HER CONSTITUTION. The vexed question is settled. The problem is solved. The dead point of danger is passed. All serious trouble to Kansas affairs is over and gone."

And a column nearly of the same sort. Then, when you come to look into the Lecompton Constitution, you find the same doctrine incorporated in it which was put forth editorially in the *Union*. What is it?

"ARTICLE 7, *Section* 1. The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction;[2] and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase is the same and as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever."

Then in the schedule is a provision that the constitution may be amended after 1864 by a two-thirds vote.

"But no alteration shall be made to affect the right of property in the ownership of slaves."

It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton Constitution that they are identical in spirit with the *authoritative* article in the Washington *Union* of the day previous to its indorsement of this constitution.

19. I pass over some portions of the speech, and I hope that any one who feels interested in this matter will read the entire section of the speech, and see whether I do the judge an injustice. He proceeds:

When I saw that article in the *Union* of the 17th of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton Constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the constitution asserting the doctrine that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a fatal blow being struck at the sovereignty of the States of this Union.

[1] See Appendix A.

[2] Lincoln held rather that the rights of property were inferior to the rights of person. See the letter to H. L. Pierce and others, April 6, 1859, in this volume.

20. I stop the quotation there, again requesting that it may all be read. I have read all of the portion I desire to comment upon. What is this charge that the judge thinks I must have a very corrupt heart to make? It was a purpose on the part of certain high functionaries to make it impossible for the people of one State to prohibit the people of any other State from entering it with their "property" so called, and making it a slave State. In other words, it was a charge implying a design to make the institution of slavery national. And now I ask your attention to what judge Douglas has himself done here. I know that he made that part of the speech as a reason why he had refused to vote for a certain man for public printer; but, when we get at it, the charge itself is the very one I made against him, that he thinks I am so corrupt for uttering. Now whom does he make that charge against? Does he make it against that newspaper editor merely? No: he says it is identical in spirit with the Lecompton Constitution, and so the framers of that constitution are brought in with the editor of the newspaper in that "fatal blow being struck." He did not call it a "conspiracy." In his language it is a "fatal blow being struck." And, if the words carry the meaning better when changed from a "conspiracy" into a "fatal blow being struck," I will change my expression, and call it "fatal blow being struck." We see the charge made not merely against the editor of the *Union*, but all the framers of the Lecompton Constitution; and not only so, but the article

was an authoritative article. By whose authority? Is there any question but that he means it was by the authority of the President and his cabinet, — the administration?"[1] Is there any sort of question but that he means to make that charge? Then there are the editors of the *Union*, the framers of the Lecompton Constitution, the President of the United States and his cabinet, and all the supporters of the Lecompton Constitution, in Congress and out of Congress, who are all involved in this "fatal blow being struck." I commend to Judge Douglas's consideration the question of how corrupt a man's heart must be to make such a charge!

21. Now, my friends, I have but one branch of the subject, in the little time I have left, to which to call your attention; and, as I shall come to a close at the end of that branch, it is probable that I shall not occupy quite all the time allotted to me. Although on these questions I would like to talk twice as long as I have, I could not enter upon another head and discuss it properly without running over my time. I ask the attention of the people here assembled and elsewhere to the course that Judge Douglas is pursuing every day as bearing upon this question of making slavery national. Not going back to the records, but taking

[1] The strength of Douglas's following in the North was greatly increased by his break with Buchanan over the admission of Kansas with the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution. This stand of Douglas against his party leaders had won over Horace Greeley, who urged the Republicans of Illinois to nominate no candidate in opposition to Douglas, the Democratic nominee, in the senatorial contest which called forth the present debates.

the speeches he makes, the speeches he made yesterday and day before, and makes constantly all over the country, — I ask your attention to them. In the first place, what is necessary to make the institution national? Not war. There is no danger that the people of Kentucky will shoulder their muskets, and, with a young nigger stuck on every bayonet, march into Illinois and force them upon us. There is no danger of our going over there and making war upon them. Then what is necessary for the nationalization of slavery? It is simply the next Dred Scott decision. It is merely for the Supreme Court to decide that no State under the Constitution can exclude it, just as they have already decided that under the Constitution neither Congress nor the Territorial legislature can do it. When that is decided and acquiesced in, the whole thing is done. This being true, and this being the way, as I think, that slavery is to be made national, let us consider what Judge Douglas is doing every day to that end. In the first place, let us see what influence he is exerting on public sentiment. In this and like communities, public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail: without it, nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed. This must be borne in mind, as also the additional fact that Judge Douglas is a man of vast influence, so great that it is enough for many men to profess to believe

anything when they once find out that Judge Douglas professes to believe it. Consider also the attitude he occupies at the head of a large party, — a party, which he claims has a majority of all the voters in the country.

22. This man sticks to a decision which forbids the people of a Territory to exclude slavery, and he does so not because he says it is right in itself, — he does not give any opinion on that, — but because it has been decided by the court; and, being decided by the court, he is, and you are, bound to take it in your political action as law, — not that he judges at all of its merits, but because a decision of the court is to him a "Thus saith the Lord." He places it on that ground alone, and you will bear in mind that thus committing himself unreservedly to this decision commits him to the next one just as firmly as to this. He did not commit himself on account of the merit or demerit of the decision, but it is a "Thus saith the Lord." The next decision, as much as this, will be a "Thus saith the Lord." There is nothing that can divert or turn him away from this decision. It is nothing that I point out to him that his great prototype, General Jackson,[1] did not believe in the binding force of decisions. It is nothing to him that Jefferson [1] did not so believe. I have said that I have often heard him approve of Jackson's course in disregarding the decision of the Supreme Court pronouncing a national bank constitutional. He says I did not hear him say so. He denies the accuracy of my recollection. I say he

[1] Both Democrats.

ought to know better than I; but I will make no question about this thing, though it still seems to me that I heard him say it twenty times. I will tell him, though, that he now claims to stand on the Cincinnati platform, which affirms that Congress cannot charter a national bank, in the teeth of that old standing decision that Congress can charter a bank. And I remind him of another piece of history on the question of respect for judicial decisions, and it is a piece of Illinois history, belonging to a time when a large party to which Judge Douglas belonged were displeased with a decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois, because they had decided that a governor could not remove a secretary of state. You will find the whole story in Ford's History of Illinois, and I know that Judge Douglas will not deny that he was then in favor of oversloughing that decision by the mode of adding five new judges, so as to vote down the four old ones. Not only so, but it ended in the judge's sitting down on the very bench as one of the five new judges to break down the four old ones. It was in this way precisely that he got his title of judge. Now, when the judge tells me that men appointed conditionally to sit as members of a court will have to be catechised beforehand upon some subject, I say, "You know, judge: you have tried it." When he says a court of this kind will lose the confidence of all men, will be prostituted and disgraced by such a proceeding, I say, "You know best, judge: you have been through the mill."

23. But I cannot shake Judge Douglas's teeth loose

from the Dred Scott decision. Like some obstinate animal (I mean no disrespect) that will hang on when he has once got his teeth fixed, — you may cut off a leg or you may tear away an arm, still he will not relax his hold. And so I may point out to the judge, and say that he is bespattered all over, from the beginning of his political life to the present time, with attacks upon judicial decisions, — I may cut off limb after limb of his public record, and strive to wrench from him a single dictum of the court, yet I cannot divert him from it. He hangs to the last to the Dred Scott decision. These things show there is a purpose strong as death and eternity for which he adheres to this decision, and for which he will adhere to all other decisions of the same court. [A Hibernian: "Give us something besides Drid Scott."] Yes; no doubt you want to hear something that don't hurt. Now, having spoken of the Dred Scott decision, one more word, and I am done. Henry Clay, my beau-ideal of a statesman, the man for whom I fought all my humble life, — Henry Clay once said of a class of men who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation that they must, if they would do this, go back to the era of our independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return; they must blow out the moral lights around us; they must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate there the love of liberty; and then, not till then, could they perpetuate slavery in this country! To my thinking, Judge Douglas is, by his example and vast influence, doing that very

thing in this community when he says that the negro has nothing in the Declaration of Independence. Henry Clay plainly understood the contrary. Judge Douglas is going back to the era of our Revolution, and to the extent of his ability muzzling the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. When he invites any people, willing to have slavery, to establish it, he is blowing out the moral lights around us. When he says he "cares not whether slavery is voted down or voted up," — that it is a sacred right of self-government, — he is, in my judgment, penetrating the human soul, and eradicating the light of reason and the love of liberty in this American people. And now I will only say that when, by all these means and appliances, Judge Douglas shall succeed in bringing public sentiment to an exact accordance with his own views, — when these vast assemblages shall echo back all these sentiments, — when they shall come to repeat his views and to avow his principles, and to say all that he says on these mighty questions, — then it needs only the formality of the second Dred Scott decision, which he indorses in advance, to make slavery alike lawful in all the States, — old as well as new, North as well as South.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

From Lincoln's Opening Speech, the Second Joint Debate, at Freeport, August 27, 1858

. . . . I will take up the Judge's interrogatories as I find them printed in the Chicago *Times*, and answer

them *seriatim*. . . . The first one of these interrogatories is in these words: —

Question 1. — "I desire to know whether Lincoln to-day stands, as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive-Slave law?"

Answer. — I do not now, nor ever did, stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive-Slave law.

Q. 2. "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to-day, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more slave States into the Union, even if the people want them?"

A. I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more slave States into the Union.

Q. 3. "I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make?"

A. I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union, with such a constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make.

Q. 4. "I want to know whether he stands to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?"

A. I do not stand to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Q. 5. " I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different States?"

A. I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different States.

Q. 6. "I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States, north as well as south of the Missouri Compromise line?"

A. I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the *right* and *duty* of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories.

Q. 7. "I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein?"

A. I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, accordingly as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves.

Now, my friends, it will be perceived, upon an examination of these questions and answers, that so far I have only answered that I was not *pledged* to this, that, or the other. The Judge has not framed his interrogatories to ask me anything more than this, and I have answered in strict accordance with the interrogatories, and have answered truly that I am not *pledged* at all upon any of the points to which I have answered. But I am not disposed to hang upon the exact form of his interrogatory. I am rather disposed to take up at least some of these questions, and state what I really think upon them.

As to the first one, in regard to the Fugitive-Slave law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution

of the United States, the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive-Slave law. Having said that, I have had nothing to say in regard to the existing Fugitive-Slave law, further than that I think it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening its efficiency. And inasmuch as we are not now in an agitation in regard to an alteration or modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as a new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery.

In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more slave States into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another slave State admitted into the Union; but I must add that if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union.

The third interrogatory is answered by the answer to the second, it being, as I conceive, the same as the second.

The fourth one is in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In relation to that, I have my mind very distinctly made up. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet as a member of Congress, I should not, with my present views, be in favor of *endeavoring* to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless it would be upon these conditions: *First*, that the abolition should be gradual; *second*, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the District; and *third*, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these three conditions, I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, "sweep from our capital that foul blot upon our nation."

In regard to the fifth interrogatory, I must say here that, as to the question of the abolition of the slave trade between the different States, I can truly answer, as I have, that I am *pledged* to nothing about it. It is a subject to which I have not given that mature consideration that would make me feel authorized to state a position so as to hold myself entirely bound by it. In other words, that question has never been prominently enough before me to induce me to investigate whether we really have the constitutional power to do it. I could investigate it if I had sufficient time to bring myself to a conclusion upon that subject; but I have

not done so, and I say so frankly to you here, and to Judge Douglas. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish the slave trade among the different States, I should still not be in favor of the exercise of that power, unless upon some conservative principle as I conceive it, akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

My answer as to whether I desire that slavery should be prohibited in all the Territories of the United States is full and explicit within itself, and cannot be made clearer by any comments of mine. So I suppose in regard to the question whether I am opposed to the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein, my answer is such that I could add nothing by way of illustration, or making myself better understood, than the answer which I have placed in writing.

Now in all this the judge has me, and he has me on the record. I suppose he had flattered himself that I was really entertaining one set of opinions for one place, and another set for another place; that I was afraid to say at one place what I uttered at another. What I am saying here I suppose I say to a vast audience as strongly tending to Abolitionism as any audience in the State of Illinois, and I believe I am saying that which, if it would be offensive to any persons and render them enemies to myself, would be offensive to persons in this audience.

I now proceed to propound to the judge the interrogatories, so far as I have framed them. I will bring forward a new installment when I get them ready. I will bring them forward now only reaching to number four.

The first one is:

Question 1. — If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in other respects, adopt a State constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, *before* they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English bill,[1] — some ninety-three thousand, — will you vote to admit them?

Q. 2. Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution? [2]

[1] See Appendix A, Lecompton Constitution.

[2] Douglas's reply to this interrogatory was as follows: "I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution. . . . It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a

Q. 3. If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that States cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting, and following such decision as a rule of political action?

Q. 4. Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard of how such acquisition may affect the nation on the slavery question?

LINCOLN'S FIFTH QUESTION

From Lincoln's Reply, Third Joint Debate, at Jonesboro, September 15, 1858

. . . . My fifth interrogatory is this:

If the slave-holding citizens of a United States Territory should need and demand Congressional legislation for the protection of their slave property in such Territory, would you, as a member of Congress, vote for or against such legislation?

slave Territory or a free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska Bill."

Douglas had enunciated this principle previously, in the speech at Bloomington, July 16, 1858, in the presence of Lincoln. His words were: "If the people of a Territory want slavery, they will encourage it by passing affirmatory laws, and the necessary police regulations, patrol laws, and slave code; if they do not want it, they will withhold that legislation, and by withholding it slavery is as dead as if it was prohibited by a constitutional prohibition, especially if, in addition their legislation is unfriendly, as it would be if they were opposed to it."

This doctrine of "unfriendly legislation," which virtually nullifies the Dred Scott decision, is usually called the Freeport Doctrine, and Lincoln is credited with driving Douglas into the statement which ruined his political standing in the South. What Lincoln really did was to force Douglas to restate the doctrine in a debate which was sure to be read throughout the country.

THE GREAT ISSUE

From Lincoln's Reply, the Last Joint Debate, at Alton, October 15, 1858

. . . . That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles — right and wrong — throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, "You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle.

Photo by De Witt Ward

STATUE OF LINCOLN BY DANIEL C. FRENCH,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

A SUMMARY OF LINCOLN'S POSITION REGARDING SLAVERY

Captain Brown, who, like Lincoln, was a native of Kentucky, had been a Whig until 1857, when he declared himself a "Lincoln Republican." In 1858, through Lincoln's influence, he was nominated on the Republican ticket for the Illinois legislature. Late in the campaign he asked Lincoln for a lucid statement of the latter's views on negro equality. In reply Lincoln sent him a little notebook filled with clippings from several of his speeches and accompanied by the following letter. A facsimile of the notebook was published in 1901 under the title *Abraham Lincoln, His Book*.

Springfield, Oct. 18, 1858

Hon. J. U. Brown,

My dear Sir:—

I do not perceive how I can express myself more plainly than I have in the foregoing extracts. In four of them I have expressly disclaimed all intention to bring about social and political equality between the white and black races and in all the rest I have done the same thing by clear implication.

I have made it equally plain that I think the negro is included in the word "men" used in the Declaration of Independence.

I believe the declaration that "all men are created equal" is the great fundamental principle upon which our free institutions rest; that negro slavery is violative of that principle; but that, by our frame of government, that principle has not been made one of legal obligation; that by our frame of government, States which have slavery are to retain it, or surrender it at their own pleasure; and that all others — individuals, free States and national Government — are constitutionally bound to leave them alone about it.

I believe our Government was thus framed because of the *necessity* springing from the actual presence of slavery, when it was framed.

That such necessity does not exist in the Territories when slavery is not present.

In his Mendenhall speech Mr. Clay says: "Now as an abstract principle there is no doubt of the truth of that declaration (all men created equal), and it is desirable, in the original construction of society, to keep it in view as a great fundamental principle."

Again, in the same speech Mr. Clay says: "If a state of nature existed and we were about to lay the foundations of society, no man would be more strongly opposed than I should to incorporate the institution of slavery among its elements."

Exactly so. In our new free Territories, a state of nature *does* exist. In them Congress lays the foundations of society and in laying those foundations, I say, with Mr. Clay, it is desirable that the declaration of the equality of all men shall be kept in view as a great fundamental principle, and that Congress, which lays the foundations of society, should, like Mr. Clay, be strongly opposed to the incorporation of slavery and its elements.

But it does not follow that social and political equality between whites and blacks *must* be incorporated because slavery must *not*. The declaration does not so require.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES

To H. L. Pierce and Others.

Springfield, Ill., 6 April, 1859

Gentlemen: — Your kind note inviting me to attend a festival in Boston, on the 28th instant, in honor of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, was duly received. My engagements are such that I cannot attend.

Bearing in mind that about seventy years ago two great political parties were first formed in this country, that Thomas Jefferson was the head of one of them and Boston the headquarters of the other, it is both curious and interesting that those supposed to descend politically from the party opposed to Jefferson should now be celebrating his birthday in their own original seat of empire, while those claiming political descent from him have nearly ceased to breathe his name everywhere.

Remembering, too, that the Jefferson party was formed upon its supposed superior devotion to the personal rights of men, holding the rights of property to be secondary only, and greatly inferior, and assuming that the so-called Democracy of to-day are the Jefferson, and their opponents the anti-Jefferson, party, it will be equally interesting to note how completely the two have changed hands as to the principle upon which they were originally supposed to be divided. The Democracy of to-day hold the liberty of one man to be absolutely nothing, when in conflict with another

man's right of property; Republicans, on the contrary, are for both the man and the dollar, but in case of conflict the man before the dollar.

I remember being once much amused at seeing two partially intoxicated men engaged in a fight with their great-coats on, which fight, after a long and rather harmless contest, ended in each having fought himself out of his own coat and into that of the other. If the two leading parties of this day are really identical with the two in the days of Jefferson and Adams, they have performed the same feat as the two drunken men.

But soberly, it is now no child's play to save the principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this nation. One would state with great confidence that he could convince any sane child that the simpler propositions of Euclid are true; but nevertheless he would fail, utterly, with one who should deny the definitions and axioms. The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society. And yet they are denied and evaded, with no small show of success. One dashingly calls them "glittering generalities." Another bluntly calls them "self-evident lies." And others insidiously argue that they apply to "superior races." These expressions, differing in form, are identical in object and effect — the supplanting the principles of free government, and restoring those of classification, caste, and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against she people. They are the vanguard, the miners and tappers, of returning despotism. We must repulse

them, or they will subjugate us. This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it. All honor to Jefferson — to the man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a mere revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that to-day and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression.

Your obedient servant,
A. LINCOLN.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT COOPER UNION, NEW YORK

February 27, 1860

Lincoln frequently remarked that the Cooper Union Address and Brady's photograph of him (taken the same month) made him President. The speech was one of a series of lectures delivered under the auspices of the Young Men's Central Republican Union of New York City. Lincoln was introduced to the distinguished audience by William Cullen Bryant, the great poet, editor, and liberal leader. "It was worth coming East just to meet Bryant," said Lincoln; and the political events which followed showed that Bryant had been equally impressed by the personality of Lincoln. Beginning under the handicap of his awkward bearing, ill-fitting clothes, and natural nervousness, Lincoln kindled with his subject until he stood revealed as the giant who had dominated the Bloomington Convention. Horace Greeley, who was in the audience and who had previously

supported Douglas in the senatorial contest of 1858, wrote in the New York *Tribune*, "No man ever before made such an impression on his first appeal to a New York audience." Following this speech, Lincoln made a short tour of New England, returning to Illinois a recognized leader in national politics.

It will be observed that this address, probably the greatest argumentative speech ever delivered in this country, is a continuation of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates. Taking his text from Senator Douglas, Lincoln uses evidence gathered with painstaking care to show the attitude of the fathers toward the control of slavery in the Federal Territories. Then from the unassailable vantage of historical authority he controverts the Southern charges against the Republican Party, — charges of sectionalism, of radicalism, of making the slavery question prominent, of stirring up a slave insurrection. He warns the South that it will be of no avail to break up the Republican Party, and he defines for them his attitude toward their secession threat and toward the Dred Scott decision. Finally he addresses the men of his own party, appealing to them to exercise good temper and stating for them the great moral issue.

Mr. President and Fellow-citizens of New York:

1. The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly old and familiar; nor is there anything new in the general use I shall make of them. If there shall be any novelty, it will be in the mode of presenting the facts, and the inferences and observations following that presentation. In his speech last autumn at Columbus, Ohio, as reported in the New York *Times*, Senator Douglas said: "Our fathers, when they framed the government under which we live, understood this question, just as well, and even better, than we do now."

2. I fully indorse this, and I adopt it as a text for this discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a

precise and an agreed starting-point for a discussion between Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas.[1] It simply leaves the inquiry: What was the understanding those fathers had of the question mentioned?

3. What is the frame of government under which we live? The answer must be, "The Constitution of the United States." That Constitution consists of the original, framed in 1787, and under which the present government first went into operation, and twelve subsequently framed amendments, the first ten of which were framed in 1789.

4. Who were our fathers that framed the Constitution? I suppose the "thirty-nine" who signed the original instrument may be fairly called our fathers who framed that part of the present government. It is almost exactly true to say they framed it, and it is altogether true to say they fairly represented the opinion and sentiment of the whole nation at that time. Their names, being familiar to nearly all, and accessible to quite all, need not now be repeated.

5. I take these "thirty-nine," for the present, as being "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." What is the question which, according to the text, those fathers understood "just as well, and even better, than we do now"?

[1] Douglas's break with the Administration had helped to disrupt his party, and his Freeport doctrine had further alienated Democrats in the South. In February, 1859, Jefferson Davis denounced him in the Senate as guilty of party heresy. The effect of this split was seen in the elections of 1860 when there were two Democratic tickets on the ballot.

6. It is this: Does the proper division of local from Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, forbid our Federal Government to control as to slavery in our Federal Territories?

7. Upon this, Senator Douglas holds the affirmative, and Republicans the negative. This affirmation and denial form an issue; and this issue — this question — is precisely what the text declares our fathers understood "better than we." Let us now inquire whether the "thirty-nine," or any of them, ever acted upon this question; and, if they did, how they acted upon it — how they expressed that better understanding. In 1784, three years before the Constitution, the United States then owning the Northwestern Territory, and no other, the Congress of the Confederation had before them the question of prohibiting slavery in that Territory; and four of the "thirty-nine" who afterward framed the Constitution were in that Congress, and voted on that question. Of these, Roger Sherman, Thomas Mifflin, and Hugh Williamson voted for the prohibition, thus showing that, in their understanding, no line, dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything else, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory. The other of the four, James McHenry, voted against the prohibition, showing that for some cause he thought it improper to vote for it.

8. In 1787, still before the Constitution, but while the convention was in session framing it, and while the Northwestern Territory still was the only Terri-

tory owned by the United States, the same question of prohibiting slavery in the Territory again came before the Congress of the Confederation; and two more of the "thirty-nine" who afterward signed the Constitution were in that Congress, and voted on the question. They were William Blount and William Few; and they both voted for the prohibition — thus showing that in their understanding no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything else, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory. This time the prohibition became a law, being part of what is now well known as the Ordinance of '87.

9. The question of Federal control of slavery in the Territories seems not to have been directly before the convention which framed the original Constitution; and hence it is not recorded that the "thirty-nine," or any of them, while engaged on that instrument, expressed any opinion on that precise question.

10. In 1789, by the first Congress which sat under the Constitution, an act was passed to enforce the Ordinance of '87, including the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. The bill for this act was reported by one of the "thirty-nine" — Thomas Fitzsimmons, then a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. It went through all its stages without a word of opposition, and finally passed both branches without ayes and nays, which is equivalent to a unanimous passage. In this Congress there were sixteen of the thirty-nine fathers who framed

the original Constitution. They were John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman, William S. Johnson, Roger Sherman, Robert Morris, Thomas Fitzsimmons, William Few, Abraham Baldwin, Rufus King, William Paterson, George Clymer, Richard Bassett, George Read, Pierce Butler, Daniel Carroll, and James Madison.

11. This shows that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, properly forbade Congress to prohibit slavery in the Federal Territory; else both their fidelity to correct principle, and their oath to support the Constitution, would have constrained them to oppose the prohibition.

12. Again, George Washington, another of the "thirty-nine," was then President of the United States, and as such approved and signed the bill, thus completing its validity as a law, and thus showing that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory.

13. No great while after the adoption of the original Constitution, North Carolina ceded to the Federal Government the country now constituting the State of Tennessee; and a few years later Georgia ceded that which now constitutes the States of Mississippi and Alabama. In both deeds of cession it was made a condition by the ceding States that the Federal Government should not prohibit slavery in the ceded country. Besides this, slavery was then actually

in the ceded country. Under these circumstances, Congress, on taking charge of these countries, did not absolutely prohibit slavery within them. But they did interfere with it — take control of it — even there, to a certain extent. In 1798, Congress organized the Territory of Mississippi. In the act of organization they prohibited the bringing of slaves into the Territory from any place without the United States, by fine, and giving freedom to slaves so brought. This act passed both branches of Congress without yeas and nays. In that Congress were three of the "thirty-nine" who framed the original Constitution. They were John Langdon, George Read, and Abraham Baldwin. They all probably voted for it. Certainly they would have placed their opposition to it upon record if, in their understanding, any line dividing local from Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory.

14. In 1803, the Federal Government purchased the Louisiana country. Our former territorial acquisitions came from certain of our own States; but this Louisiana country was acquired from a foreign nation.[1] In 1804, Congress gave a territorial organization to that part of it which now constitutes the State of Louisiana. New Orleans, lying within that part, was an old and comparatively large city. There were other considerable towns and settlements, and slavery was extensively and thoroughly intermingled with the peo-

[1] From France.

ple. Congress did not, in the Territorial Act, prohibit slavery; but they did interfere with it — take control of it — in a more marked and extensive way than they did in the case of Mississippi. The substance of the provision therein made in relation to slaves was: —

1st. That no slave should be imported into the Territory from foreign parts.

2d. That no slave should be carried into it who had been imported into the United States since the first day of May, 1798.

3d. That no slave should be carried into it, except by the owner, and for his own use as a settler; the penalty in all the cases being a fine upon the violator of the law, and freedom to the slave.

15. This act also was passed without ayes or nays. In the Congress which passed it there were two of the "thirty-nine." They were Abraham Baldwin and Jonathan Dayton. As stated in the case of Mississippi, it is probable they both voted for it. They would not have allowed it to pass without recording their opposition to it if, in their understanding, it violated either the line properly dividing local from Federal authority, or any provision of the Constitution.

16. In 1819–20 came and passed the Missouri question. Many votes were taken, by yeas and nays, in both branches of Congress, upon the various phases of the general question. Two of the "thirty-nine" — Rufus King and Charles Pinckney — were members of that Congress. Mr. King steadily voted for slavery prohibition and against all compromises, whil

Mr. Pinckney as steadily voted against slavery prohibition and against all compromises. By this, Mr. King showed that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, was violated by Congress prohibiting slavery in Federal territory; while Mr. Pinckney, by his votes, showed that, in his understanding, there was some sufficient reason for opposing such prohibition in that case.

17. The cases I have mentioned are the only acts of the "thirty-nine," or of any of them, upon the direct issue, which I have been able to discover.

18. To enumerate the persons who thus acted as being four in 1784, two in 1787, seventeen in 1789, three in 1798, two in 1804, and two in 1819–1820, there would be thirty of them. But this would be counting John Langdon, Roger Sherman, William Few, Rufus King, and George Read each twice, and Abraham Baldwin three times. The true number of those of the "thirty-nine" whom I have shown to have acted upon the question which, by the text, they understood better than we, is twenty-three, leaving sixteen not shown to have acted upon it in any way.

19. Here, then, we have twenty-three out of our thirty-nine fathers "who framed the government under which we live," who have, upon their official responsibility and their corporal oaths, acted upon the very question which the text affirms they "understood just as well, and even better, than we do now"; and twenty-one of them — a clear majority of the whole "thirty-nine" — so acting upon it as to make them guilty of

gross political impropriety and wilful perjury if, in their understanding, any proper division between local and Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution they had made themselves, and sworn to support, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. Thus the twenty-one acted; and, as actions speak louder than words, so actions under such responsibility speak still louder.

20. Two of the twenty-three voted against congressional prohibition of slavery in the Federal Territories, in the instances in which they acted upon the question. But for what reasons they so voted is not known. They may have done so because they thought a proper division of local from Federal authority, or some provision or principle of the Constitution, stood in the way; or they may, without any such question, have voted against the prohibition on what appeared to them to be sufficient grounds of expediency. No one who has sworn to support the Constitution can conscientiously vote for what he understands to be an unconstitutional measure, however expedient he may think it; but one may and ought to vote against a measure which he deems constitutional if, at the same time, he deems it inexpedient. It, therefore, would be unsafe to set down even the two who voted against the prohibition as having done so because, in their understanding, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory.

21. The remaining sixteen of the "thirty-nine," so

far as I have discovered, have left no record of their understanding upon the direct question of Federal control of slavery in the Federal Territories. But there is much reason to believe that their understanding upon that question would not have appeared different from that of their twenty-three compeers, had it been manifested at all.

22. For the purpose of adhering rigidly to the text, I have purposely omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any person, however distinguished, other than the thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution; and, for the same reason, I have also omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any of the "thirty-nine" even on any other phase of the general question of slavery. If we should look into their acts and declarations on those other phases, as the foreign slave trade, and the morality and policy of slavery generally, it would appear to us that, on the direct question of Federal control of slavery in Federal Territories, the sixteen, if they had acted at all, would probably have acted just as the twenty-three did. Among that sixteen were several of the most noted anti-slavery men of those times, — as Dr. Franklin,[1] Alexander Hamilton, and Gouverneur Morris,[2] — while there was

[1] Although Benjamin Franklin trafficked in slaves in his early life, he later became convinced of the wrong of slavery. As president of one of the first abolition societies he signed a petition to Congress for the abolition of the slave trade. The debate on this petition drew forth his last public paper.

[2] In 1777 Gouverneur Morris attempted to have an article abolishing slavery introduced into the Constitution of New York State.

not one now known to have been otherwise, unless it may be John Rutledge, of South Carolina.

23. The sum of the whole is that of our thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution, twenty-one — a clear majority of the whole — certainly understood that no proper division of local from Federal authority, nor any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control slavery in the Federal Territories; while all the rest had probably the same understanding. Such, unquestionably, was the understanding of our fathers who framed the original Constitution; and the text affirms that they understood the question "better than we."

24. But, so far, I have been considering the understanding of the question manifested by the framers of the original Constitution. In and by the original instrument, a mode was provided for amending it; and, as I have already stated, the present frame of "the government under which we live" consists of that original, and twelve amendatory articles framed and adopted since. Those who now insist that Federal control of slavery in Federal Territories violates the Constitution, point us to the provisions which they suppose it thus violates; and, as I understand, they all fix upon provisions in these amendatory articles, and not in the original instrument. The Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, plant themselves upon the Fifth Amendment, which provides that no person shall be deprived of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law"; while Senator Douglas and his

peculiar adherents plant themselves upon the Tenth Amendment, providing that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution" "are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

25. Now, it so happens that these amendments were framed by the first Congress which sat under the Constitution — the identical Congress which passed the act, already mentioned, enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. Not only was it the same Congress, but they were the identical, same individual men who, at the same session, and at the same time within the session, had under consideration, and in progress toward maturity, these constitutional amendments, and this act prohibiting slavery in all the territory the nation then owned. The constitutional amendments were introduced before, and passed after, the act enforcing the Ordinance of '87; so that, during the whole pendency of the act to enforce the Ordinance, the constitutional amendments were also pending.

26. The seventy-six members of that Congress, including sixteen of the framers of the original Constitution, as before stated, were preëminently our fathers who framed that part of "the government under which we live" which is now claimed as forbidding the Federal Government to control slavery in the Federal Territories.

27. Is it not a little presumptuous in any one at this day to affirm that the two things which that Congress deliberately framed, and carried to maturity at

the same time, are absolutely inconsistent with each other? And does not such affirmation become impudently absurd when coupled with the other affirmation, from the same mouth, that those who did the two things alleged to be inconsistent, understood whether they really were inconsistent better than we — better than he who affirms that they are inconsistent?

28. It is surely safe to assume that the thirty-nine framers of the original Constitution, and the seventy-six members of Congress which framed the amendments thereto, taken together, do certainly include those who may be fairly called "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." And so assuming, I defy any man to show that any one of them ever, in his whole life, declared that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. I go a step further. I defy any one to show that any living man in the whole world ever did, prior to the beginning of the present century (and I might almost say prior to the beginning of the last half of the present century), declare that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. To those who now so declare I give not only "our fathers who framed the government under which we live," but with them all other living men within the century in which it

was framed, among whom to search, and they shall not be able to find the evidence of a single man agreeing with them.

29. Now, and here, let me guard a little against being misunderstood. I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so would be to discard all the lights of current experience — to reject all progress, all improvement. What I do say is that if we would supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand; and most surely not in a case whereof we ourselves declare they understood the question better than we.

30. If any man at this day sincerely believes that a proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories, he is right to say so, and to enforce his position by all truthful evidence and fair argument which he can. But he has no right to mislead others, who have less access to history, and less leisure to study it, into the false belief that "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" were of the same opinion — thus substituting falsehood and deception for truthful evidence and fair argument. If any man at this day sincerely believes "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" used and applied principles, in other cases, which ought to have

led them to understand that a proper division of local from Federal authority, or some part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories, he is right to say so. But he should, at the same time, brave the responsibility of declaring that, in his opinion, he understands their principles bettter than they did themselves; and especially should he not shirk that responsibility by asserting that they "understood the question just as well, and even better, than we do now."

31. But enough! Let all who believe that "our fathers who framed the government under which we live understood this question, just as well, and even better, than we do now," speak as they spoke, and act as they acted upon it. This is all Republicans ask — all Republicans desire — in relation to slavery. As those fathers marked it, so let it be again marked, as an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected only because of and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection a necessity. Let all the guaranties those fathers gave it be not grudgingly, but fully and fairly, maintained. For this Republicans contend, and with this, so far as I know or believe, they will be content.[1]

32. And now, if they would listen, — as I suppose they will not, — I would address a few words to the Southern people.

[1] As a matter of fact those Republicans who had abolition sympathies might not agree. Some Abolitionists had even advocated secession of the free states.

33. I would say to them: You consider yourselves a reasonable and a just people; and I consider that in the general qualities of reason and justice you are not inferior to any other people. Still, when you speak of us Republicans, you do so only to denounce us as reptiles, or, at the best, as no better than outlaws. You will grant a hearing to pirates or murderers, but nothing like it to "Black Republicans." In all your contentions with one another, each of you deems an unconditional condemnation of "Black Republicanism" as the first thing to be attended to. Indeed, such condemnation of us seems to be an indispensable prerequisite — license, so to speak — among you to be admitted or permitted to speak at all. Now can you or not be prevailed upon to pause and to consider whether this is quite just to us, or even to yourselves? Bring forward your charges and specifications, and then be patient long enough to hear us deny or justify.

34. You say we are sectional. We deny it. That makes an issue; and the burden of proof is upon you. You produce your proof; and what is it? Why, that our party has no existence in your section — gets no votes in your section. The fact is substantially true; but does it prove the issue? If it does, then in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes in your section, we should thereby cease to be sectional. You cannot escape this conclusion; and yet, are you willing to abide by it? If you are, you will probably soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall get votes in your section this very year.

You will then begin to discover, as the truth plainly is, that your proof does not touch the issue. The fact that we get no votes in your section is a fact of your making, and not of ours. And if there be fault in that fact, that fault is primarily yours, and remains so until you show that we repel you by some wrong principle or practice. If we do repel you by any wrong principle or practice, the fault is ours; but this brings you to where you ought to have started — to a discussion of the right or wrong of our principle. If our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section for the benefit of ours, or for any other object, then our principle, and we with it, are sectional, and are justly opposed and denounced as such. Meet us, then, on the question of whether our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section; and so meet us as if it were possible that something may be said on our side. Do you accept the challenge? No! Then you really believe that the principle which "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" thought so clearly right as to adopt it, and indorse it again and again, upon their official oath, is in fact so clearly wrong as to demand your condemnation without a moment's consideration.

35. Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces the warning against sectional parties given by Washington in his Farewell Address.[1] Less than eight years

[1] In the Farewell Address delivered September 17, 1796, Washington said: "In contemplating the causes, which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* dis-

before Washington gave that warning, he had, as President of the United States, approved and signed an act of Congress enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory, which act embodied the policy of the Government upon that subject up to and at the very moment he penned that warning; and about one year after he penned it, he wrote Lafayette that he considered that prohibition a wise measure, expressing in the same connection his hope that we should at some time have a confederacy of free States.

36. Bearing this in mind, and seeing that sectionalism has since arisen upon this same subject, is that warning a weapon in your hands against us, or in our hands against you? Could Washington himself speak, would he cast the blame of that sectionalism upon us, who sustain his policy, or upon you, who repudiate it? We respect that warning of Washington, and we commend it to you, together with his example pointing to the right application of it.

37. But you say you are conservative — eminently conservative — while we are revolutionary, destructive, or something of the sort. What is conservatism? Is it not adherence to the old and tried, against the new and untried? We stick to, contend for, the identical old policy on the point in controversy which was adopted by "our fathers who framed the government under which we live"; while you with one accord re-

criminations, *Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views."

ject, and scout, and spit upon that old policy, and insist upon substituting something new. True, you disagree among yourselves as to what that substitute shall be. You are divided on new propositions and plans, but you are unanimous in rejecting and denouncing the old policy of the fathers. Some of you are for reviving the foreign slave trade; some for a congressional slave code for the Territories; some for Congress forbidding the Territories to prohibit slavery within their limits; some for maintaining slavery in the Territories through the judiciary; some for the "gur-reat pur-rinciple" that "if one man would enslave another, no third man should object," fantastically called "popular sovereignty"; but never a man among you is in favor of Federal prohibition of slavery in Federal Territories, according to the practice of "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." Not one of all your various plans can show a precedent or an advocate in the century within which our government originated. Consider, then, whether your claim of conservatism for yourselves, and your charge of destructiveness against us, are based on the most clear and stable foundations.

38. Again, you say we have made the slavery question more prominent than it formerly was. We deny it. We admit that it is more prominent, but we deny that we made it so. It was not we, but you, who discarded the old policy of the fathers. We resisted, and still resist, your innovation; and thence comes the greater prominence of the question. Would you have

that question reduced to its former proportions? Go back to that old policy. What has been will be again, under the same conditions. If you would have the peace of the old times, readopt the precepts and policy of the old times.

39. You charge that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. We deny it; and what is your proof? Harper's Ferry! John Brown[1]!! John Brown was no Republican; and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. If any member of our party is guilty in that matter, you know it, or you do not know it. If you do know it you are inexcusable for not designating the man and proving the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable for asserting it, and especially for persisting in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true, is simply malicious slander.

40. Some of you admit that no Republican designedly aided or encouraged the Harper's Ferry affair, but still insist that our doctrines and declarations necessarily lead to such results. We do not believe it.

[1] John Brown (1800–1859), the famous antislavery fanatic, celebrated in the song *John Brown's Body*. He had migrated to Kansas in 1855 and taken part in brutal outrages there, with the intention of avenging the slaves. His last and most famous exploit was his attempt to incite a revolt among the slaves by means of a raid upon Harper's Ferry, Virginia, October 16, 1859. The raid failed; Brown was captured by Colonel Robert E. Lee and executed December 2, 1859. The Republican National Convention of 1860 condemned the Harper's Ferry raid as "among the gravest of crimes."

We know we hold no doctrine, and make no declaration, which were not held to and made by "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." You never dealt fairly by us in relation to this affair. When it occurred, some important State elections were near at hand, and you were in evident glee with the belief that, by charging the blame upon us, you could get an advantage of us in those elections. The elections came,[1] and your expectations were not quite fulfilled. Every Republican man knew that, as to himself at least, your charge was a slander, and he was not much inclined by it to cast his vote in your favor. Republican doctrines and declarations are accompanied with a continual protest against any interference whatever with your slaves, or with you about your slaves. Surely, this does not encourage them to revolt. True, we do, in common with "our fathers who framed the government under which we live," declare our belief that slavery is wrong; but the slaves do not hear us declare even this. For anything we say or do, the slaves would scarcely know there is a Republican Party. I believe they would not, in fact, generally know it but for your misrepresentations of us in their hearing. In your political contests among yourselves, each faction charges the other with sympathy

[1] "The results of the state elections showed the Republicans still in control in the North, while in the South, the Democrats were weakened by a revival of the sometime Whig party sufficiently strong to gain a number of congressmen, besides holding Maryland and casting increased votes in other states." — *The American Nation*, Vol. 18, p. 246.

with Black Republicanism; and then, to give point to the charge, defines Black Republicanism to simply be insurrection, blood, and thunder among the slaves.

41. Slave insurrections are no more common now than they were before the Republican Party was organized. What induced the Southampton insurrection,[1] twenty-eight years ago, in which at least three times as many lives were lost as at Harper's Ferry? You can scarcely stretch your very elastic fancy to the conclusion that Southampton was "got up by Black Republicanism." In the present state of things in the United States, I do not think a general, or even a very extensive, slave insurrection is possible. The indispensable concert of action cannot be obtained. The slaves have no means of rapid communication; nor can incendiary freemen, black or white, supply it. The explosive materials are everywhere in parcels; but there neither are, nor can be supplied, the indispensable connecting trains.

42. Much is said by Southern people about the affection of slaves for their masters and mistresses; and a part of it, at least, is true. A plot for an uprising could scarcely be devised and communicated to twenty individuals before some one of them, to save the life of a favorite master or mistress, would divulge it. This is the rule; and the slave revolution in

[1] A revolt of negroes led by Nat Turner of Southampton, Virginia, in 1831. The revolt occasioned a long debate on the evils of slavery, in the Virginia legislature.

Hayti[1] was not an exception to it, but a case occurring under peculiar circumstances. The Gunpowder Plot of British history,[2] though not connected with slaves, was more in point. In that case, only about twenty were admitted to the secret; and yet one of them, in his anxiety to save a friend, betrayed the plot to that friend, and, by consequence, averted the calamity. Occasional poisonings from the kitchen, and open or stealthy assassinations in the field, and local revolts extending to a score or so, will continue to occur as the natural results of slavery; but no general insurrection of slaves, as I think, can happen in this country for a long time. Whoever much fears, or much hopes, for such an event, will be alike disappointed.

43. In the language of Mr. Jefferson, uttered many years ago, "It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably, and in such slow degrees, as that the evil will wear off insensibly; and their places be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up."

[1] A successful revolution which led to the abolition of slavery in 1793, after much bloodshed. Toussaint L'Ouverture, one of the negro heroes of the struggle, has been celebrated in literature. See, for instance, Wordsworth's sonnet and Wendell Phillips's famous oration.

[2] In 1605, during the reign of James I, in England, barrels of gunpowder were placed in a cellar beneath the Parliament House with the purpose of killing the king and the political leaders when Parliament convened. The plot was divulged by Francis Tresham, who sought to prevent the death of a relative in the House of Lords.

44. Mr. Jefferson did not mean to say, nor do I, that the power of emancipation is in the Federal Government. He spoke of Virginia; and, as to the power of emancipation, I speak of the slaveholding States only. The Federal Government, however, as we insist, has the power of restraining the extension of the institution — the power to insure that a slave insurrection shall never occur on any American soil which is now free from slavery.

45. John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little less than his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon,[1] and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry, were, in their philosophy, precisely the same. The eagerness to cast blame on old England in the one case, and on New England in the other, does not disprove the sameness of the two things.

46. And how much would it avail you, if you could,

[1] January, 1858. Orsini was actuated by a belief that Italy had been wronged by Louis Napoleon.

by the use of John Brown, Helper's book,[1] and the like, break up the Republican organizations? Human action can be modified to some extent, but human nature cannot be changed. There is a judgment and a feeling against slavery in this nation, which cast at least a million and a half of votes. You cannot destroy that judgment and feeling — that sentiment — by breaking up the political organization which rallies around it. You can scarcely scatter and disperse an army which has been formed into order in the face of your heaviest fire; but if you could, how much would you gain by forcing the sentiment which created it out of the peaceful channel of the ballot-box into some other channel? What would that other channel probably be? Would the number of John Browns be lessened or enlarged by the operation?

47. But you will break up the Union rather than submit to a denial of your constitutional rights.

48. That has a somewhat reckless sound; but it would be palliated, if not fully justified, were we proposing, by the mere force of numbers, to deprive you of some right plainly written down in the Constitution. But we are proposing no such thing.

49. When you make these declarations you have a specific and well-understood allusion to an assumed constitutional right of yours to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as prop-

[1] *The Impending Crisis in the South — How to Meet It*, by Hinton R. Helper. This book had been recommended in a circular signed by two-thirds of the Republican members of Congress and had occasioned a heated debate.

erty. But no such right is specifically written in the Constitution. That instrument is literally silent about any such right. We, on the contrary, deny that such a right has any existence in the Constitution, even by implication.

50. Your purpose, then, plainly stated, is that you will destroy the government, unless you be allowed to construe and force the Constitution as you please, on all points in dispute between you and us. You will rule or ruin in all events.

51. This, plainly stated, is your language. Perhaps you will say the Supreme Court has decided the disputed constitutional question in your favor. Not quite so. But waiving the lawyer's distinction between dictum and decision,[1] the Court has decided the question for you in a sort of way. The Court has substantially said, it is your constitutional right to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property. When I say the decision was made in a sort of way, I mean it was made in a divided court, by a bare majority of the judges, and they not quite agreeing with one another in the reasons for making it; that it is so made as that its avowed supporters disagree with one another about its meaning, and that it was mainly based upon a mistaken statement of fact — the statement in the opinion that "the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution."[2]

[1] A dictum, "A judicial opinion expressed by judges on a point not necessarily arising in the decision of the case." — *Webster's Dictionary*. A dictum is not so binding upon future cases as a decision.

[2] See Appendix A, Dred Scott Case.

52. An inspection of the Constitution will show that the right of property in a slave is not "distinctly and expressly affirmed" in it.[1] Bear in mind, the judges do not pledge their judicial opinion that such right is impliedly affirmed in the Constitution; but they pledge their veracity that it is "distinctly and expressly" affirmed there — "distinctly," that is, not mingled, with anything else — "expressly," that is, in words meaning just that, without the aid of any inference, and susceptible of no other meaning.

53. If they had only pledged their judicial opinion that such right is affirmed in the instrument by implication, it would be open to others to show that neither the word "slave" nor "slavery" is to be found in the Constitution, nor the word "property" even, in any connection with language alluding to the things slave, or slavery; and that, wherever in that instrument the slave is alluded to, he is called a "person"; and wherever his master's legal right in relation to him is alluded to, it is spoken of as "service or labor which may be due" — as a debt payable in service or labor. Also it would be open to show, by contemporaneous history, that this mode of alluding to slaves and slavery, instead of speaking of them, was employed on purpose to exclude from the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man.

54. To show all this is easy and certain.

55. When this obvious mistake of the judges shall

[1] There are three references to slavery in the Constitution: Article I, Sections 2 and 9; Article IV, Section 2.

be brought to their notice, is it not reasonable to expect that they will withdraw the mistaken statement, and reconsider the conclusion based upon it?

56. And then it is to be remembered that "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" — the men who made the Constitution — decided this same constitutional question in our favor long ago: decided it without division among themselves when making the decision; without division among themselves about the meaning of it after it was made, and, so far as any evidence is left, without basing it upon any mistaken statement of facts.

57. Under all these circumstances, do you really feel yourselves justified to break up this government unless such a court decision as yours is shall be at once submitted to as a conclusive and final rule of political action? But you will not abide the election of a Republican President! In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us! That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters through his teeth, "Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer!"

58. To be sure, what a robber demanded of me — my money — was my own; and I had a clear right to keep it; but it was no more my own than my vote is my own; and the threat of death to me, to extort my money, and the threat of destruction to the Union, to extort my vote, can scarcely be distinguished in principle.

59. A few words now to the Republicans. It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great Confederacy shall be at peace and in harmony one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion and ill temper. Even though the Southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can. Judging by all they say and do, and by the subject and nature of their controversy with us, let us determine, if we can, what will satisfy them.

60. Will they be satisfied if the Territories be unconditionally surrendered to them? We know they will not. In all their present complaints against us, the Territories are scarcely mentioned. Invasions and insurrections are the rage now. Will it satisfy them if, in the future, we have nothing to do with invasions and insurrections? We know it will not. We so know, because we know we never had anything to do with invasions and insurrections; and yet this total abstaining does not exempt us from the charge and the denunciation.

61. The question recurs, What will satisfy them? Simply this: we must not only let them alone, but we must somehow convince them that we do let them alone. This, we know by experience is no easy task. We have been so trying to convince them from the very beginning of our organization, but with no success. In all our platforms and speeches we have con-

stantly protested our purpose to let them alone; but this has had no tendency to convince them. Alike unavailing to convince them is the fact that they have never detected a man of us in any attempt to disturb them.

62. These natural and apparently adequate means all failing, what will convince them? This, and this only: cease to call slavery wrong, and join them in calling it right. And this must be done thoroughly — done in acts as well as in words. Silence will not be tolerated — we must place ourselves avowedly with them. Senator Douglas's new sedition law must be enacted and enforced, suppressing all declarations that slavery is wrong, whether made in politics, in presses, in pulpits, or in private. We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure. We must pull down our free-State constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected from all taint of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us.

63. I am quite aware they do not state their case precisely in this way. Most of them would probably say to us, "Let us alone; do nothing to us, and say what you please about slavery." But we do let them alone, — have never disturbed them, — so that, after all, it is what we say which dissatisfies them. They will continue to accuse us of doing, until we cease saying.

64. I am also aware they have not as yet in terms demanded the overthrow of our free-State constitutions. Yet those constitutions declare the wrong of

slavery with more solemn emphasis than do all other sayings against it; and when all these other sayings shall have been silenced, the overthrow of these constitutions will be demanded, and nothing be left to resist the demand. It is nothing to the contrary that they do not demand the whole of this just now. Demanding what they do, and for the reason they do, they can voluntarily stop nowhere short of this consummation. Holding, as they do, that slavery is morally right and socially elevating, they cannot cease to demand a full national recognition of it as a legal right and a social blessing.

65. Nor can we justifiably withhold this on any ground save our conviction that slavery is wrong. If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and constitutions against it are themselves wrong, and should be silenced and swept away. If it is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality — its universality; if it is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension — its enlargement. All they ask we could readily grant, if we thought slavery right; all we ask they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right and our thinking it wrong is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition as being right; but thinking it wrong as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities can we do this?

66. Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the national Territories, and to overrun us here in these free States? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored — contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man; such as a policy of "don't care" on a question about which all true men do care; such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance; such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said and undo what Washington did.

67. Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.

yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

POLICIES OF GOVERNMENT

From Addresses Delivered While on His Way to the White House

Reply to Address of Welcome

Indianapolis, Indiana, February 11, 1861

. . . The people — when they rise in mass in behalf of the Union and the liberties of their country. truly may it be said, "The gates of hell cannot prevail against them." In all trying positions in which I shall be placed — and, doubtless, I shall be placed in many such — my reliance will be placed upon you and the people of the United States; and I wish you to remember, now and forever, that it is your business, and not mine; that if the union of these States and the liberties of this people shall be lost, it is but little to any one man of fifty-two years of age, but a great deal to the thirty millions of people who inhabit these United States, and to their posterity in all coming time. It is your business to rise up and preserve the Union and liberty for yourselves, and not for me.

I desire they should be constitutionally performed. I, as already intimated, am but an accidental instrument, temporary, and to serve for a limited time; and I appeal to you again to constantly bear in mind that with you, and not with politicians, not with Presidents,

not with office-seekers, but with you is the question, Shall the Union and shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generations?

From the Address to the German Club of Cincinnati, Ohio

February 12, 1861

. . . I agree with you, Mr. Chairman, that the workingmen are the basis of all governments, for the plain reason that they are all the more numerous, and as you added that those were the sentiments of the gentlemen present, representing not only the working class, but citizens of other callings than those of the mechanic, I am happy to concur with you in these sentiments, not only of the native-born citizens, but also of the Germans and foreigners from other countries.

Mr. Chairman, I hold that while man exists it is his duty to improve not only his own condition, but to assist in ameliorating the condition of mankind; and therefore, without entering upon the details of the question, I will simply say that I am for those means which will give the greatest good to the greatest number. . . .

In regard to the Germans and foreigners, I esteem them no better than other people nor any worse. It is not my nature, when I see a people borne down by the weight of their shackles — the oppression of tyranny — to make their life more bitter by heaping upon them greater burdens; but rather would I do

all in my power to raise the yoke than to add anything that would tend to crush them.

Inasmuch as our own country is extensive and new, and the countries of Europe are densely populated, if there are any abroad who desire to make this the land of their adoption, it is not in my heart to throw aught in their way to prevent them from coming to the United States. . . .

From an Address at Pittsburg, Pa.

February 15, 1861

(Reported by the New York *Tribune*)

. . . By the Constitution the executive may recommend measures which he may think proper, and he may veto those he thinks improper, and it is supposed that he may add to these certain indirect influences to affect the action of Congress. My political education strongly inclines me against a very free use of any of these means by the executive to control the legislation of the country. As a rule, I think it better that Congress should originate as well as perfect its measures without external bias. . . .

SPEECH IN INDEPENDENCE HALL

February 22, 1861

On Washington's Birthday, 1861, Lincoln assisted in the raising of a new flag at Independence Hall in Philadelphia. The brief speech which follows has been considered the finest of that series of addresses which he delivered on the way to his inauguration. In the last sentence there is an obvious reference

to the threats of assassination which made advisable a change in his itinerary.

I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing in this place, where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle from which sprang the institutions under which we live. You have kindly suggested to me that in my hands is the task of restoring peace to our distracted country. I can say in return, sirs, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated in and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here and framed and adopted that Declaration. I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that independence. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men and that all should have an equal chance. This is the sentiment embodied in the Dec-

laration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved on that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. Now, in my view of the present aspect of affairs, there is no need of bloodshed and war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course; and I may say in advance that there will be no bloodshed unless it be forced upon the Government. The Government will not use force, unless force is used against it.

My friends, this is wholly an unprepared speech. I did not expect to be called on to say a word when I came here. I supposed it was merely to do something towards raising a flag — I may, therefore, have said something indiscreet. [Cries of "No, No."] But I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, die by.

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

March 4, 1861

The following address, delivered on March 4, 1861, had been written before Lincoln came to Washington and had been revised in accordance with the advice of Wm. H. Seward and other prominent leaders of the Republican Party. It represents Lincoln's last solemn attempt to reunite the nation before the outbreak of war, and it states clearly his attitude toward the issue of Union *vs.* Secession. Less than two months later, Fort

Sumter fell, on April 13. If the speeches delivered on the way to Washington had seemed reserved and indecisive, this address made it plain that Lincoln would defend the Union at any cost.

1. *Fellow-citizens of the United States:* In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of his office."

2. I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

3. Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a

law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"Resolved, that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

4. I now reiterate these sentiments; and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause — as cheerfully to one section, as to another.

5. There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution [1] as any other of its provisions:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be deliv-

[1] Article IV, Section 2, Part 3.

ered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

6. It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution — to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves, whose cases come within the terms of this clause, "shall be delivered up" their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

7. There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him, or to others, by which authority it is done. And should any one, in any case, be content that his oath shall go unkept, on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to *how* it shall be kept?

8. Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution[1] which guarantees that "the citizen of each

[1] Article IV, Section 2, Part 1.

State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States"?

9. I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules. And while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

10. It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have, in succession, administered the Executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope of precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

11. I hold that, in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our

National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever — it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

12. Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it — break it, so to speak, but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

13. Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was "*to form a more perfect Union.*"

14. But if destruction of the Union by one, or by a part only, of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is *less* perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

15. It follows from these views, that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that *resolves* and *ordinances* to that effect are legally

void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

16. I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

17. In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object.

While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

18. The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best direction will be exercised according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

19. That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak?

20. Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are

greater than all the real ones you fly from — will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

21. All profess to be content in the Union, if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution — certainly would, if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions, in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? [1] The Constitution does not expressly say. *May* Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? [2] The Constitution does not ex-

[1] The personal liberty laws and other antislavery legislation operative in some Northern States prevented surrender by State authorities.

[2] Denied by prominent leaders in the South.

pressly say. *Must* Congress protect slavery in the Territories? [1] The Constitution does not expressly say.

22. From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no other alternative; for continuing the Government is acquiescence on one side or the other. If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

23. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession?

24. Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is

[1] Southern leaders like Davis and Yancey had made this demand.

wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

25. I do not forget the position, assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court;[1] nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled, and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges, It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

[1] A reference to the Dred Scott case. Lincoln here opposes judicial usurpation.

26. One section of our country believes slavery is *right*, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is *wrong*, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse in both cases *after* the separation of the sections, than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

27. Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory *after* separation than *before?* Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends?

Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

28. This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government they can exercise their *constitutional* right of amending it, or their *revolutionary* right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add, that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others, not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution — which amendment, however, I have not seen — has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of per-

sons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose, not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objections to its being made express and irrevocable.

29. The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this also if they choose; but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present Government, as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor.

30. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

31. By the frame of the Government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief; and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can

very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

32. My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and *well* upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to *hurry* any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take *deliberately*, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulty.

33. In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it." [1]

[1] The original draft, after the words "preserve, protect, and defend it," concluded as follows, addressing itself to "my dissatisfied fellow countrymen": "You can forbear the assault upon it, I cannot shrink from the defense of it. With you, and not with me, is the solemn question of 'Shall it be peace or a sword?'"

34. I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearth-stone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.[1]

THE PEOPLE'S CONTEST

From a Message to Congress, July 4, 1861

. . . And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy — a government of the people by the same people — can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control administration according to organic law in any case, can always, upon the pretences made in this case or any other pretences, or arbitrarily

[1] Seward submitted two separate drafts for a closing paragraph The second of these ran as follows: —

"I close. We are not, we must not be, aliens or enemies, but fellow countrymen and brethren. Although passion has strained our bonds of affection too hardly, they must not, I am sure they will not, be broken. The mystic chords which, proceeding from so many battlefields and so many patriot graves, pass through all the hearts and all hearths in this broad continent of ours, will yet again harmonize in their ancient music when breathed upon by the guardian angel of the nation."

without any pretence, break up their government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth. It forces us to ask: "Is there, in all republics, this inherent and fatal weakness?" "Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?"

. . . This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men, — to lift artificial weights from all shoulders, to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all, to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partial and temporary departures from necessity, this is the leading object of the government for the existence of which we contend.

I am most happy to believe that the plain people understand and appreciate this. It is worthy of note that while in this, the government's hour of trial, large numbers of those in the army and navy who have been favored with the offices have resigned and proved false to the hand which had pampered them, not one common soldier or common sailor is known to have deserted his flag.

Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled, — the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains, — its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to

overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal, except to ballots themselves, at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace; teaching men that what they cannot take by an election, neither can they take by a war; teaching all the folly of being the beginners of a war.

LABOR AND CAPITAL

From the Annual Message to Congress, December 3, 1861

. . . It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors, unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow, by the use of it, induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall hire laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded thus

far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers, or what we call slaves. And further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer is fixed in that condition for life.

Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed, nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital, producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of the community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and with their capital hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class, — neither work for others, nor have others working for them. In most of the Southern States, a majority of the whole people, of all colors, are neither slaves nor masters; while in the Northern, a majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men with their families — wives, sons, and daughters — work for themselves, on their farms, in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors

of capital on the one hand, nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital — that is, they labor with their own hands, and also buy or hire others to labor for them; but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

Again, as has already been said, there is not of necessity any such thing as the free, hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men, everywhere in these States, a few years back in their lives were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages a while, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty, none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost.

LETTER TO GENERAL G. B. McCLELLAN

Executive Mansion, Washington. February 3, 1862

My dear Sir, You and I have distinct and different plans for a movement of the Army of the Potomac — yours to be down the Chesapeake, up the Rappahannock to Urbana and across land to the terminus of the railroad on the York River; mine to move directly to a point on the railroad southwest of Manassas.

If you will give me satisfactory answers to the following questions, I shall gladly yield my plan to yours.

First. Does not your plan involve a greatly larger expenditure of time and money than mine?

Second. Wherein is a victory more certain by your plan than mine?

Third. Wherein is a victory more valuable by your plan than mine?

Fourth. In fact, would it not be less valuable in this, that it would break no great line of the enemy's communications, while mine would?

Fifth. In case of disaster, would not a retreat be more difficult by your plan than mine?

Yours truly,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS RECOMMENDING COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION

March 6, 1862

Notwithstanding Lincoln's personal opposition to slavery on moral grounds, he desired just protection for slaveholders. Hence, he always argued before the war that guaranties of the

Constitution regarding slavery should be respected, and slaves made free only by gradual processes. The Proclamation for Compensated Emancipation was not primarily such a gradual process, however, but a practical war measure intended to win the border States for the Union. It afforded them a chance to maintain their allegiance without losing the money they had invested in slaves.

The history of Lincoln's attitude toward slavery after he became President is best traced in his own letters and addresses. See in this volume, in addition to the present selection: Letter to Greeley, Aug. 22, 1862; Reply to a Committee, Sept. 13, 1862; Emancipation Proclamation, Jan. 1, 1863; Letter to Conkling, Aug. 26, 1863; Letter to Drake, Oct. 5, 1863; Letter to Hodges, Apr. 4, 1864; Letter to Mrs. Horace Mann, Apr. 5, 1864; Last Public Address, Apr. 11, 1865.

For a brief history of bills intended to secure compensated emancipation, see Macdonald: *Documentary Source Book of American History*, p. 449.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

I recommend the adoption of a joint resolution by your honorable bodies, which shall be substantially as follows:

Resolved: That the United States ought to coöperate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State, in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.

If the proposition contained in the resolution does not meet the approval of Congress and the country, there is an end; but if it does command such approval, I deem it of importance that the States and people immediately interested should be at once distinctly

notified of the fact, so that they may begin to consider whether to accept or reject it. The Federal Government would find its highest interest in such a measure, as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation. The leaders of the existing insurrection entertain the hope that this government will ultimately be forced to acknowledge the independence of some part of the disaffected region, and that all the slave States north of such part will then say, "The Union for which we have struggled being already gone, we now choose to go with the Southern section." To deprive them of this hope substantially ends the rebellion; and the initiation of emancipation completely deprives them of it as to all the States initiating it. The point is not that all the States tolerating slavery would very soon, if at all, initiate emancipation; but that while the offer is equally made to all, the more Northern shall, by such initiation, make it certain to the more Southern that in no event will the former ever join the latter in their proposed confederacy. I say "initiation" because, in my judgment, gradual and not sudden emancipation is better for all. In the mere financial or pecuniary view, any member of Congress, with the census tables and the treasury reports before him, can readily see for himself how very soon the current expenditures of this war would purchase, at fair valuation, all the slaves in any named State. Such a proposition on the part of the General Government sets up no claim of a right by Federal authority to interfere with slavery within State limits, referring, as it does, the absolute

control of the subject in each case to the State and its people immediately interested. It is proposed as a matter of perfectly free choice with them.

In the annual message, last December, I thought fit to say, "The Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed." I said this not hastily, but deliberately. War has been made, and continues to be, an indispensable means to this end. A practical reacknowledgment of the national authority would render the war unnecessary, and it would at once cease. If, however, resistance continues, the war must also continue; and it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable, or may obviously promise great efficiency, toward ending the struggle, must and will come.

The proposition now made, though an offer only, I hope it may be esteemed no offence to ask whether the pecuniary consideration tendered would not be of more value to the States and private persons concerned than are the institution and property in it, in the present aspect of affairs?

While it is true that the adoption of the proposed resolution would be merely initiatory, and not within itself a practical measure, it is recommended in the hope that it would soon lead to important practical results. In full view of my great responsibility to my God and to my country, I earnestly beg the attention of Congress and the people to the subject.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Washington, March 6, 1862.

LETTER TO GENERAL G. B. McCLELLAN

Fort Monroe, Virginia
May 9, 1862

Major-General McClellan,
My dear Sir : —

I have just assisted the Secretary of War in framing part of a despatch to you, relating to army corps, which despatch of course will have reached you long before this will.

I wish to say a few words to you privately on this subject. I ordered the army corps organization, not only on the unanimous opinion of the twelve generals whom you had selected and assigned as generals of division, but also on the unanimous opinion of every *military man* I could get an opinion from (and every modern military book), yourself only excepted. Of course I did not on my own judgment pretend to understand the subject. I now think it indispensable for you to know how your struggle against it is received in quarters which we cannot entirely disregard. It is looked upon as merely an effort to pamper one or two pets and to persecute and degrade their supposed rivals. I have no word from Sumner, Heintzelman, or Keyes. The commanders of these corps are of course the three highest officers with you, but I am constantly told that you have no consultation or communication with them, — that you consult and communicate with nobody but General Fitz John Porter, and perhaps General Franklin. I do not say these complaints are true or just, but at

all events it is proper you should know of their existence. Do the commanders of corps disobey your orders in anything?

When you relieved General Hamilton of his command the other day, you thereby lost the confidence of at least one of your best friends in the Senate. And here let me say, not as applicable to you personally, that Senators and Representatives speak of *me* in their places without question, and that officers of the army must cease addressing insulting letters to them for taking no greater liberty with *them*.

But to return. Are you strong enough — are you strong enough even with my help — to set your foot upon the necks of Sumner, Heintzelman, and Keyes, all at once? This is a practical and very serious question to you.

The success of your army and the cause of the country are the same, and, of course, I only desire the good of the cause.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

LINCOLN AND RED TAPE

Telegram to Governor Andrew

War Department, Washington City, D. C.
August 12, 1862

Governor Andrew, Boston, Mass.:

Your despatch saying "I can't get those regiments off because I can't get quick work out of the U. S. disbursing officer and the paymaster" is received. Please

say to these gentlemen that if they do not work quickly I will make quick work with them. In the name of all that is reasonable, how long does it take to pay a couple of regiments? We were never more in need of the arrival of regiments than now — even to-day.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO HORACE GREELEY

Horace Greeley (1811–1872) founded the New York *Tribune* in 1841, after a varied life of poverty; became an eminent figure by the ability of his editorial work, and exerted a strong influence throughout the country, but especially in the rural communities. In 1848–9 he was a member of Congress; in 1860 he was a delegate to the National Republican Convention which nominated Lincoln.

Greeley was at first opposed to declaring war upon the seceding States, but when it was declared stood by the government. He remained, however, an outspoken and troublesome critic. In August, 1862, in a letter entitled "The Prayer of Twenty Millions" which he addressed to Lincoln through the columns of the *Tribune*, Greeley urged the emancipation of the negroes, and indulged in sharp criticism of the President. The present letter is Lincoln's reply to that article.

Executive Mansion, Washington
August 22, 1862

Hon. Horace Greeley. — *Dear Sir:* I have just read yours of the 19th, addressed to myself through the *New York Tribune*. If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not now and here controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and

dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend, whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the National authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "The Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *destroy* slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle *is* to save the Union and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do *not* believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do *less*, whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause; and I shall do *more*, whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of *official* duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed *personal* wish that all men, everywhere, could be free.

Yours,

A. LINCOLN.

REPLY TO A COMMITTEE FROM THE RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS OF CHICAGO, URGING LINCOLN TO ISSUE A PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION

September 13, 1862

The subject presented in the memorial is one upon which I have thought much for weeks past, and I may even say for months. I am approached with the most opposite opinions and advice, and that by religious men who are equally certain that they represent the divine will. I am sure that either the one or the other class is mistaken in that belief, and perhaps in some respects both. I hope it will not be irreverent for me to say that if it is probable that God would reveal His will to others on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed He would reveal it directly to me; for, unless I am more deceived in myself than I often am, it is my earnest desire to know the will of Providence in this matter. And if I can learn what it is, I will do it. These are not, however, the days of miracles, and I suppose it will be granted that I am not to expect a direct revelation. I must study the plain physical facts of the case, ascertain what is possible, and learn what appears to be wise and right.

The subject is difficult, and good men do not agree. For instance, the other day four gentlemen of standing and intelligence from New York called as a delegation on business connected with the war; but, before leaving, two of them earnestly beset me to proclaim

general emancipation, upon which the other two at once attacked them. You know also that the last session of Congress had a decided majority of anti-slavery men, yet they could not unite on this policy. And the same is true of the religious people. Why, the rebel soldiers are praying with a great deal more earnestness, I fear, than our own troops, and expecting God to favor their side; for one of our soldiers who had been taken prisoner told Senator Wilson a few days since that he met with nothing so discouraging as the evident sincerity of those he was among in their prayers. But we will talk over the merits of the case.

What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet. Would my word free the slaves, when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the rebel States? Is there a single court, or magistrate, or individual that would be influenced by it there? And what reason is there to think it would have any greater effect upon the slaves than the late law of Congress, which I approved, and which offers protection and freedom to the slaves of rebel masters who come within our lines? Yet I cannot learn that that law has caused a single slave to come over to us. And suppose they could be induced by a proclamation of freedom from me to throw themselves upon us, what should we do with them? How can we feed and care for such a multitude? General Butler wrote me

a few days since that he was issuing more rations to the slaves who have rushed to him than to all the white troops under his command. They eat, and that is all; though it is true General Butler is feeding the whites also by the thousand, for it nearly amounts to a famine there. If, now, the pressure of the war should call off our forces from New Orleans to defend some other point, what is to prevent the masters from reducing the blacks to slavery again? For I am told that whenever the rebels take any black prisoners, free or slave, they immediately auction them off. They did so with those they took from a boat that was aground in the Tennessee River a few days ago. And then I am very ungenerously attacked for it! For instance, when, after the late battles at and near Bull Run, an expedition went out from Washington under a flag of truce to bury the dead and bring in the wounded, and the rebels seized the blacks who went along to help, and sent them into slavery, Horace Greeley said in his paper that the government would probably do nothing about it. What could I do?

Now, then, tell me, if you please, what possible result of good would follow the issuing of such a proclamation as you desire? Understand, I raise no objections against it on legal or constitutional grounds; for, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of war I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy; nor do I urge objections of a moral nature, in view of possible consequences of insurrection and massacre at the

South. I view this matter as a practical war measure, to be decided on according to the advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the rebellion.

I admit that slavery is the root of the rebellion, or at least its *sine quâ non*. The ambition of politicians may have instigated them to act, but they would have been impotent without slavery as their instrument. I will also concede that emancipation would help us in Europe, and convince them that we are incited by something more than ambition. I grant, further, that it would help somewhat at the North, though not so much, I fear, as you and those you represent imagine. Still, some additional strength would be added in that way to the war, and then, unquestionably, it would weaken the rebels by drawing off their laborers, which is of great importance; but I am not so sure we could do much with the blacks. If we were to arm them, I fear that in a few weeks the arms would be in the hands of the rebels: and, indeed, thus far we have not had arms enough to equip our white troops. I will mention another thing, though it meet only your scorn and contempt. There are fifty thousand bayonets in the Union armies from the border slave States. It would be a serious matter if, in consequence of a proclamation such as you desire, they should go over to the rebels. I do not think they all would — not so many, indeed, as a year ago, or as six months ago — not so many to-day as yesterday. Every day increases their Union feeling. They are also getting their pride

enlisted, and want to beat the rebels. Let me say one thing more: I think you should admit that we already have an important principle to rally and unite the people, in the fact that constitutional government is at stake. This is a fundamental idea going down about as deep as anything.

Do not misunderstand me because I have mentioned these objections. They indicate the difficulties that have thus far prevented my action in some such way as you desire. I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, but hold the matter under advisement; and I can assure you that the subject is on my mind, by day and night, more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's will, I will do. I trust that in the freedom with which I have canvassed your views I have not in any respect injured your feelings.

LETTER TO CARL SCHURZ

Executive Mansion, Washington
November 24, 1862

General Carl Schurz,

My dear Sir: I have just received and read your letter of the 20th. The purport of it is that we lost the late elections and the Administration is failing because the war is unsuccessful, and that I must not flatter myself that I am not justly to blame for it. I certainly know that if the war fails, the Administration fails, and that I will be blamed for it, whether I deserve it or not. And I ought to be blamed if I could

do better. You think I could do better; therefore you blame me already. I think I could not do better therefore I blame you for blaming me. I understand you now to be willing to accept the help of men who are not Republicans, provided they have "heart in it." Agreed. I want no others. But who is to be the judge of hearts, or of "heart in it"? If I must discard my own judgment and take yours, I must also take that of others; and by the time I should reject all I should be advised to reject, I should have none left, Republicans or others — not even yourself. For be assured, my dear sir, there are men who have "heart in it" that think you are performing your part as poorly as you think I am performing mine. I certainly have been dissatisfied with the slowness of Buell and McClellan; but before I relieved them I had great fears I should not find successors to them who would do better; and I am sorry to add that I have seen little since to relieve those fears.

I do not clearly see the prospect of any more rapid movements. I fear we shall at last find out that the difficulty is in our case rather than in particular generals. I wish to disparage no one — certainly not those who sympathize with me, but I must say I need success more than I need sympathy, and that I have not seen the so much greater evidence of getting success from my sympathizers than from those who are denounced as the contrary. It does seem to me that in the field the two classes have been very much alike in what they have done and what they have failed to do. In sealing

their faith with their blood, Baker and Lyon and Bohlen and Richardson, Republicans, did all that men could do; but did they any more than Kearny and Stevens and Reno and Mansfield, none of whom were Republicans, and some at least of whom have been bitterly and repeatedly denounced to me as secession sympathizers? I will not perform the ungrateful task of comparing cases of failure.

In answer to your question, "Has it not been publicly stated in the newspapers, and apparently proved as a fact, that from the commencement of the war the enemy was continually supplied with information by some of the confidential subordinates of as important an officer as Adjutant-General Thomas?" I must say "No," as far as my knowledge extends. And I add that if you can give any tangible evidence upon the subject, I will thank you to come to this city and do so.

Very truly your friend,

A. LINCOLN.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

January 1, 1863

Lincoln read a draft of the Emancipation Proclamation to the Cabinet July 22, 1862. Seward suggested that action be deferred until the army won an important victory, and Lincoln accepted the advice. On September 22, after the battle of Antietam, he announced that he proposed on the following New Year's Day to emancipate the slaves. Accordingly, the Emancipation Proclamation was issued January 1, 1863.

It is interesting to note (1) that Lincoln's letter to Greeley (Aug. 22) was written after the preliminary proclamation was drafted, (2) that the proclamation did not abolish slavery, but

only set free certain slaves, and (3) that these were the slaves held in the rebellious States, loyal slave States and conquered sections of rebel States being exempted. Like the Proclamation of Compensated Emancipation of March, 1862, this was a war measure rather than an abolition measure. See p. 176

WHEREAS, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit: —

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have partici-

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STATUE OF LINCOLN BY GUTZON BORGLUM, NEWARK, N.J.

pated shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States;" —

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority of, and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above-mentioned, order, and designate, as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense, and I recommend to them, that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In Testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my name and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the PRESIDENT:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

LETTER TO GENERAL J. HOOKER

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.
January 26, 1862

Major-General Hooker,

General:

I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appear to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skillful soldier, which of course, I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable if not an indispensable quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than

it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticizing their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it; and now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

July 13, 1863

My dear General, I do not remember that you and I have ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did — march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks, and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake.

I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO JAMES H. HACKETT

Washington, August 17, 1863

My dear Sir, Months ago I should have acknowledged the receipt of your book and accompanying kind note; and I now have to beg your pardon for not having done so.

For one of my age I have seen very little of the drama. The first presentation of Falstaff I ever saw was yours here, last winter or spring. Perhaps the best compliment I can pay is to say, as I truly can, I am very anxious to see it again. Some of Shakespeare's plays I have never read; while others I have gone over perhaps as frequently as any unprofessional reader. Among the latter are *Lear*, *Richard III.*, *Henry VIII.*, *Hamlet*, and especially *Macbeth*. I think nothing equals *Macbeth*. It is wonderful.

Unlike you gentlemen of the profession, I think the soliloquy in *Hamlet* commencing "Oh, my offence is rank," surpasses that commencing "To be or not to be." But pardon this small attempt at criticism. I should like to hear you pronounce the opening speech of *Richard III.* Will you not soon visit Washington again? If you do, please call and let me make your personal acquaintance.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO JAMES C. CONKLING

Executive Mansion, Washington
August 26, 1863

My dear Sir, — Your letter inviting me to attend a mass meeting of unconditional Union men, to be held at the capital of Illinois on the 3d day of September, has been received. It would be very agreeable to me thus to meet my old friends at my own home; but I cannot just now be absent from this city so long as a visit there would require.

The meeting is to be of all those who maintain unconditional devotion to the Union; and I am sure that my old political friends will thank me for tendering, as I do, the nation's gratitude to those other noble men whom no partisan malice or partisan hope can make false to the nation's life. There are those who are dissatisfied with me. To such I would say: You desire peace, and you blame me that we do not have it. But how can we attain it? There are but three conceivable ways: First, to suppress the rebellion by force of arms. This I am trying to do. Are you for it? If you are, so far we are agreed. If you are not for it, a second way is to give up the Union. I am against this. If you are, you should say so, plainly. If you are not for force, nor yet for dissolution, there only remains some imaginable compromise.

I do not believe that any compromise embracing the maintenance of the Union is now possible. All that I learn leads to a directly opposite belief. The

strength of the rebellion is its military — its army. That army dominates all the country and all the people within its range. Any offer of any terms made by any man or men within that range in opposition to that army, is simply nothing for the present, because such man or men have no power whatever to enforce their side of a compromise, if one were made with them. To illustrate: Suppose refugees from the South and peace men of the North get together in convention, and frame and proclaim a compromise embracing the restoration of the Union. In what way can that compromise be used to keep Gen. Lee's army out of Pennsylvania? Gen. Meade's army can keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania, and I think can ultimately drive it out of existence. But no paper compromise to which the controllers of Gen. Lee's army are not agreed, can at all affect that army. In an effort at such compromise we would waste time, which the enemy would improve to our disadvantage, and that would be all. A compromise, to be effective, must be made either with those who control the Rebel army, or with the people, first liberated from the domination of that army by the success of our army. Now, allow me to assure you that no word or intimation from the Rebel army, or from any of the men controlling it, in relation to any peace compromises, has ever come to my knowledge or belief. All charges and intimations to the contrary are deceptive and groundless. And I promise you that if any such proposition shall hereafter come, it shall not be rejected and kept

secret from you. I freely acknowledge myself to be the servant of the people, according to the bond of service, the United States Constitution; and that, as such, I am responsible to them.

But, to be plain. You are dissatisfied with me about the negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion between you and myself upon that subject. I certainly wish that all men could be free, while you, I suppose, do not. Yet I have neither adopted nor proposed any measure which is not consistent with even your view, provided you are for the Union. I suggested compensated emancipation, to which you replied that you wished not to be taxed to buy negroes. But I have not asked you to be taxed to buy negroes, except in such way as to save you from greater taxation, to save the Union exclusively by other means.

You dislike the Emancipation Proclamation, and perhaps would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently. I think that the Constitution invests its Commander-in-chief with the laws of war in the time of war. The most that can be said, if so much, is, that the slaves are property. Is there, has there ever been, any question that by the law of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever taking it helps us or hurts the enemy? Armies, the world over, destroy enemies' property when they cannot use it; and even destroy their own to keep it from the enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their power to help themselves or hurt the enemy, except a

few things regarded as barbarous or cruel. Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished foes and non-combatants, male and female. But the proclamation, as law, is valid or is not valid. If it is not valid, it needs no retraction. If it is valid, it cannot be retracted, any more than the dead can be brought to life. Some of you profess to think that its retraction would operate favorably for the Union. Why better after the retraction than before the issue? There was more than a year and a half of trial to suppress the rebellion before the proclamation was issued, the last one hundred days of which passed under an explicit notice, that it was coming unless averted by those in revolt returning to their allegiance. The war has certainly progressed as favorably for us since the issue of the proclamation as before. I know as fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important victories, believe the emancipation policy and the aid of colored troops constitute the heaviest blows yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of those important successes could not have been achieved when it was but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders holding these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called abolitionism, or with "Republican Party politics," but who hold them purely as military opinions. I submit their opinions as being entitled to some weight against the objections often urged that emancipation and arming the blacks are

unwise as military measures, and were not adopted as such in good faith.

You say that you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem to be willing to fight for you — but no matter. Fight you, then, exclusively to save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare that you will not fight to free negroes. I thought that, in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes should cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in his resistance to you. Do you think differently? I thought that whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers leaves just so much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest motive, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept.

The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great Northwest for it. Nor yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone, and Jersey, hewing their way right and left. The sunny South, too, in more colors than one, also lent a hand. On the spot, their part of the history was jotted

down in black and white. The job was a great national one, and let none be banned who bore an honorable part in it; and while those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, even that is not all. It is hard to say that anything has been more bravely and better done than at Antietam, Murfreesboro, Gettysburg, and on many fields of less note. Nor must Uncle Sam's web-feet be forgotten. At all the water's margins they have been present: not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou; and wherever the ground was a little damp, they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all. For the great Republic — for the principles by which it lives and keeps alive — for man's vast future — thanks to all. Peace does not appear so far distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay: and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that among freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And then there will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation; while I fear that there will be some white men unable to forget that, with malignant heart and deceitful speech, they have striven to hinder it.

Still, let us not be oversanguine of a speedy final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently

apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in His own good time, will give us the rightful result.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

James C. Conkling, Esq.

FROM A LETTER TO C. D. DRAKE AND OTHERS

October 5, 1863

. . . . We are in a civil war. In such cases there always is a main question, but in this case that question is a perplexing compound — Union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union *with*, but not *without* slavery; those for it *without*, but not *with*; those for it *with* or *without*, but prefer it *with*; and those for it *with* or *without*, but prefer it *without*.

Among these, again, is a subdivision of those who are for *gradual*, but not for *immediate*, and those who are for *immediate*, but not for *gradual* extinction of slavery.

It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet, all being for the Union, by reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once, sincerity is questioned, and motives are assailed. Actual war

coming, blood grows hot and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies, and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor, lest he be killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only. But this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad, and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures deemed indispensable, but harsh at best, such men make worse by maladministration. Murders for old grudges, and murders for pelf, proceed under any cloak that will best serve for the occasion. . . .

THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

November 19, 1863

This speech was delivered at the dedication of a national cemetery upon the field where the battle of Gettysburg had been fought in July, 1862. Edward Everett was the orator of the day, and after his address Lincoln spoke these impressive words.

FOURSCORE and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final rest-

ing-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion, — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people,[1] shall not perish from the earth.

[1] In a sermon preached in Music Hall, Boston, on July 2, 1854, Theodore Parker, the great antislavery leader, said, "Now this government. . . in its form must be democratic: that is to say, the government of all, by all, and for all." The sermon begins: "There can be no national welfare without national unity of action. . . . Without this a nation is a 'house divided against itself': of course it cannot stand." Perhaps Lincoln had read Parker's sermon; at any rate Parker had anticipated him in the use of two phrases which Lincoln made famous. The entire sermon may be found in *Old South Leaflet* Number 80.

AN OPINION ON PROPERTY

From Lincoln's Reply to a Committee from the Workingmen's Association of New York

March 21, 1864

. . . THE strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property, or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and, hence, is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.

LETTER TO A. G. HODGES

Executive Mansion, Washington
April 4, 1864

A. G. Hodges, Esq., Frankfort, Kentucky

My dear Sir, — You ask me to put in writing the substance of what I verbally said the other day in your presence, to Governor Bramlette and Senator Dixon. It was about as follows: —

"I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when

I did not so think and feel, and yet I have never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery. I had publicly declared this many times and in many ways, and I aver that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery. I did understand, however, that my oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that government, that nation, of which that Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had

even tried to preserve the Constitution, if, to save slavery or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and Constitution all together. When, early in the war, General Frémont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When, a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When, in March and May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it I hoped for greater gain than loss; but of this I was not entirely confident. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in our home popular sentiment, none in our white military force, — no loss by it anyhow or anywhere. On the contrary, it shows a gain of quite a hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there

can be no caviling. We have the men; and we could not have had them without the measure.

"And now let any Union man who complains of the measure test himself by writing down in one line that he is for subduing the rebellion by force of arms; and in the next, that he is for taking these hundred and thirty thousand men from the Union side, and placing them where they would be but for the measure he condemns. If he cannot face his case so stated, it is only because he cannot face the truth."

I add a word which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man, devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO MRS. HORACE MANN

Executive Mansion, Washington
April 5, 1864

Mrs. Horace Mann:

Madam: — The petition of persons under eighteen, praying that I would free all slave children, and the heading of which petition it appears you wrote, was handed me a few days since by Senator Sumner. Please tell these little people I am very glad their young hearts are so full of just and generous sympathy, and that, while I have not the power to grant all they ask, I trust they will remember that God has, and that, as it seems, He wills to do it.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

DEFINITION OF LIBERTY

From an Address at a Sanitary Fair in Baltimore. April 18, 1864

. . . . THE world has never had a good definition of the word "liberty," and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word, we do not all mean the same thing. With some, the word "liberty" may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labor; while with others, the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor. Here are

two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, — liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names, — liberty and tyranny.

The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word "liberty"; and precisely the same difference prevails to-day, among us human creatures, even in the North, and all professing to love liberty. Hence we behold the process by which thousands are daily passing from under the yoke of bondage hailed by some as the advance of liberty, and bewailed by others as the destruction of all liberty. Recently, as it seems, the people of Maryland have been doing something to define liberty, and thanks to them that, in what they have done, the wolf's dictionary has been repudiated.

MESSAGES TO GENERAL GRANT

Executive Mansion, Washington
April 30, 1864

Lieutenant-General Grant:

Not expecting to see you again before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express in this way my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time, so far as I understand it. The particulars of your plans I

neither know nor seek to know. You are vigilant and self-reliant; and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any constraints nor restraints upon you. While I am very anxious that any great disaster or capture of our men in great numbers shall be avoided, I know these points are less likely to escape your attention than they would be mine. If there is anything wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it. And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Washington, D. C., August 3, 1864

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:

I have seen your despatch in which you say, "I want Sheridan put in command of all the troops in the field, with instructions to put himself south of the enemy, and follow him to the death. Wherever the enemy goes, let our troops go also." This, I think, is exactly right as to how our forces should move; but please look over the despatches you may have received from here, ever since you made that order, and discover, if you can, that there is any idea in the head of anyone here of "putting our army south of the enemy," or of following him to the "death," in any direction. I repeat to you, it will neither be done nor attempted, unless you watch it every day and hour, and force it.

A. LINCOLN.

Executive Mansion, Washington,
August 17, 1864, 10 : 30 A. M.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va. :

I have seen your despatch expressing your unwillingness to break your hold where you are. Neither am I willing. Hold on with a bulldog grip and chew and choke as much as possible.

A. LINCOLN.

FROM AN ADDRESS TO THE 166TH OHIO REGIMENT

August 22, 1864

I ALMOST always feel inclined, when I happen to say anything to soldiers, to impress upon them, in a few brief remarks, the importance of success in this contest. It is not merely for to-day, but for all time to come, that we should perpetuate for our children's children that great and free government which we have enjoyed all our lives. I beg you to remember this, not merely for my sake, but for yours. I happen, temporarily, to occupy this White House. I am a living witness that any one of your children may look to come here as my father's child has. It is in order that each one of you may have, through this free government which we have enjoyed, an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise, and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life, with all its desirable human aspirations. It is for this the struggle should be maintained, that we may not lose our birthright — not only for one, but

for two or three years. The nation is worth fighting for, to secure such an inestimable jewel.

REPLY TO A SERENADE

November 10, 1864

It has long been a grave question whether any government not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. On this point the present rebellion brought our Republic to a severe test; and a presidential election, occurring in regular course during the rebellion, added not a little to the strain.

If the loyal people united were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case must ever occur in similar cases. Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us, therefore, study the incidents of this as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged. But the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good too. It has dem-

onstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Gold is good in its place, but living, brave, patriotic men are better than gold.

But the rebellion continues; and now that the election is over, may not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our common country? For my own part, I have striven and shall strive to avoid placing any obstacle in the way. So long as I have been here, I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom. While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a reëlection, and duly grateful as I trust to Almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the result.

May I ask those who have not differed with me, to join with me in this same spirit towards those who have? And now let me close by asking three hearty cheers for our brave soldiers and seamen, and their gallant and skillful commanders.

LETTER TO MRS. BIXBY, OF BOSTON

November 21, 1864

Dear Madam, I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine

which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

March 4, 1865

In June, 1864, Lincoln was renominated for the presidency at the convention of a Union Party held in Baltimore; and although during the summer of that year he expected to be defeated, he was elected in the fall by a popular vote of 2,330,552 against 1,835,985. "I give you joy of the election," Emerson wrote to a friend. "Seldom in history was so much staked on a popular vote. I suppose never in history."

By March of 1865 the end of the war was in sight. In December, 1864, Sherman had taken possession of Savannah, and Thomas had defeated Hood at Nashville; in January, 1865, the House had ratified the Thirteenth Amendment; in February Lincoln's cabinet had rejected his suggestion that four hundred million dollars be paid as compensation for slaves. The Second Inaugural looks forward with magnanimity to the approaching peace.

Fellow-countrymen: At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at

the first. Then, a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it; all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to *saving* the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to *destroy* it without war — seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiations.[1] Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew

[1] On the day following the first inauguration of Lincoln, commissioners of the Confederacy applied to Secretary Seward for recognition as envoys of a foreign power. Seward refused the recognition but entered into secret negotiations with the commissioners.

that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause*[1] of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces: but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from

[1] Note that Lincoln emphatically declares that the "slave interest" was the cause of the war.

those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

A LETTER TO THURLOW WEED

Executive Mansion, Washington
March 15, 1865

Dear Mr. Weed, Every one likes a compliment. Thank you for yours on my little notification speech and on the recent inaugural address. I expect the latter to wear as well as — perhaps better than — anything I have produced; but I believe it is not immediately popular. Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Al-

mighty and them. To deny it, however, in this case, is to deny that there is a God governing the world. It is a truth which I thought needed to be told, and, as whatever of humiliation there is in it falls most directly on myself, I thought others might afford for me to tell it.

Truly yours,
A. LINCOLN.

LAST PUBLIC ADDRESS

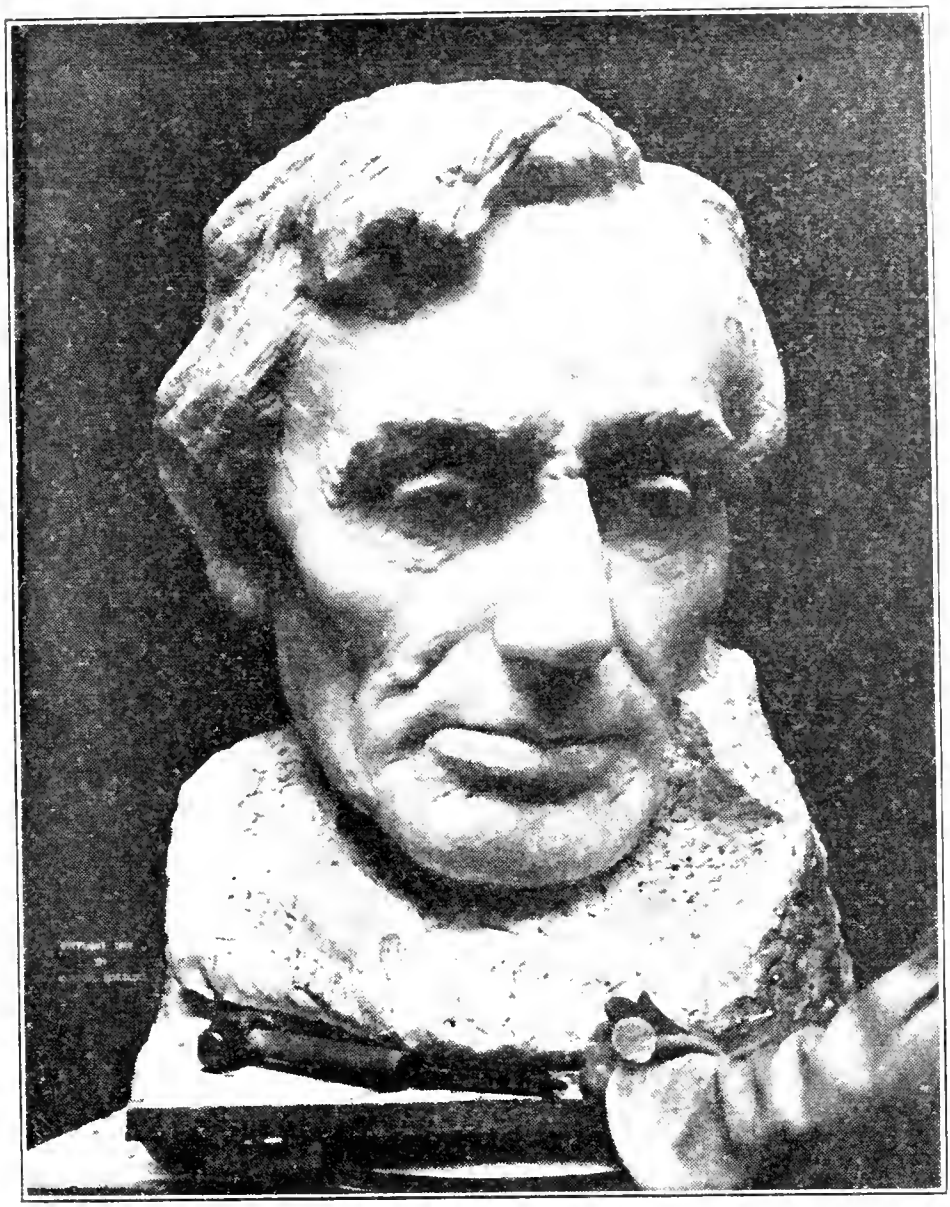
April 11, 1865

Lincoln's last public utterance, though dealing chiefly with the government of Louisiana, is interesting because it shows his measures for reconstruction.

WE meet this evening not in sorrow, but in gladness of heart. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, and the surrender of the principal insurgent army, give hope of a righteous and speedy peace, whose joyous expression cannot be restrained. In the midst of this, however, He from whom all blessings flow must not be forgotten. A call for a national thanksgiving is being prepared, and will be duly promulgated. Nor must those whose harder part gives us the cause of rejoicing be overlooked. Their honors must not be parceled out with others. I myself was near the front, and had the high pleasure of transmitting much of the good news to you; but no part of the honor for plan or execution is mine. To General Grant, his skillful officers and brave men, all belongs. The gallant navy stood ready, but was not in reach to take active part.

By these recent successes the reinauguration of the national authority, — reconstruction, — which has had a large share of thought from the first, is pressed much more closely upon our attention. It is fraught with great difficulty. Unlike a case of war between independent nations, there is no authorized organ for us to treat with, — no one man has authority to give up the rebellion for any other man. We simply must begin with and mold from disorganized and discordant elements. Nor is it a small additional embarrassment that we, the loyal people, differ among ourselves as to the mode, manner, and measure of reconstruction. As a general rule, I abstain from reading the reports of attacks upon myself, wishing not to be provoked by that to which I cannot properly offer an answer. In spite of this precaution, however, it comes to my knowledge that I am much censured for some supposed agency in setting up and seeking to sustain the new State government of Louisiana.

In this I have done just so much as, and no more than, the public knows. In the annual message of December, 1863, and in the accompanying proclamation, I presented a plan of reconstruction, as the phrase goes, which I promised, if adopted by any State, should be acceptable to and sustained by the executive government of the nation. I distinctly stated that this was not the only plan which might possibly be acceptable, and I also distinctly protested that the executive claimed no right to say when or whether members should be admitted to seats in Congress from



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BUST OF LINCOLN BY GUTZON BORGLUM,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

such States. This plan was in advance submitted to the then Cabinet, and distinctly approved by every member of it. One of them suggested that I should then and in that connection apply the Emancipation Proclamation to the theretofore excepted parts of Virginia and Louisiana, that I should drop the suggestion about apprenticeship for freed people, and that I should omit the protest against my own power in regard to the admission of members to Congress. But even he approved every part and parcel of the plan which has since been employed or touched by the action of Louisiana.

The new constitution of Louisiana, declaring emancipation for the whole State, practically applies the proclamation to the part previously excepted. It does not adopt apprenticeship for freed people, and it is silent, as it could not well be otherwise, about the admission of members to Congress. So that, as it applies to Louisiana, every member of the Cabinet fully approved the plan. The message went to Congress, and I received many commendations of the plan, written and verbal; and not a single objection to it from any professed emancipationist came to my knowledge until after the news reached Washington that the people of Louisiana had begun to move in accordance with it. From about July, 1862, I had corresponded with different persons supposed to be interested in seeking a reconstruction of a State government for Lousiana. When the message of 1863, with the plan before mentioned, reached New Orleans,

General Banks wrote me that he was confident that the people, with his military coöperation, would reconstruct substantially on that plan. I wrote to him and some of them to try it. They tried it, and the result is known. Such has been my only agency in getting up the Louisiana government.

As to sustaining it, my promise is out, as before stated. But as bad promises are better broken than kept, I shall treat this as a bad promise, and break it whenever I shall be convinced that keeping it is adverse to the public interest; but I have not yet been so convinced. I have been shown a letter on this subject, supposed to be an able one, in which the writer expresses regret that my mind has not seemed to be definitely fixed on the question whether the seceded States, so called, are in the Union or out of it. It would perhaps add astonishment to his regret were he to learn that since I have found professed Union men endeavoring to make that question, I have purposely forborne any public expression upon it. As appears to me, that question has not been, nor yet is, a practically material one, and that any discussion of it, while it thus remains practically immaterial, could have no effect other than the mischievous one of dividing our friends. As yet, whatever it may hereafter become, that question is bad as the basis of a controversy, and good for nothing at all — a merely pernicious abstraction.

We all agree that the seceded States, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union,

and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those States is to again get them into that proper practical relation. I believe that it is not only possible, but in fact easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether these States have ever been out of the Union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these States and the Union, and each forever after innocently indulge his own opinion whether in doing the acts he brought the States from without into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it. The amount of constituency, so to speak, on which the new Louisiana government rests would be more satisfactory to all if it contained 50,000, or 30,000, or even 20,000, instead of only about 12,000, as it does. It is also unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored man. I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers.

Still, the question is not whether the Louisiana government, as it stands, is quite all that is desirable. The question is, will it be wiser to take it as it is and help to improve it, or to reject and disperse it? Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relations with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? Some twelve thousand

voters in the heretofore slave State of Louisiana have sworn allegiance to the Union, assumed to be the rightful political power of the State, held elections, organized a State government, adopted a free-State constitution, giving the benefit of public schools equally to black and white, and empowering the legislature to confer the elective franchise upon the colored man. Their legislature has already voted to ratify the constitutional amendment recently passed by Congress, abolishing slavery throughout the nation. These 12,000 persons are thus fully committed to the Union and to perpetual freedom in the State — committed to the very things, and nearly all the things, the nation wants — and they ask the nation's recognition and its assistance to make good their committal.

Now, if we reject and spurn them, we do our utmost to disorganize and disperse them. We, in effect, say to the white man: You are worthless or worse; we will neither help you, nor be helped by you. To the blacks we say: This cup of liberty which these, your old masters, hold to your lips we will dash from you, and leave you to the chances of gathering the spilled and scattered contents in some vague and undefined when, where, and how If this course, discouraging and paralyzing both white and black, has any tendency to bring Louisiana into proper practical relations with the Union, I have so far been unable to perceive it. If, on the contrary, we recognize and sustain the new government of Louisiana, the converse of all this is made true. We encourage the

hearts and nerve the arms of the 12,000 to adhere to their work, and argue for it, and proselyte for it, and fight for it, and feed it, and grow it, and ripen it to a complete success. The colored man, too, in seeing all united for him, is inspired with vigilance, and energy, and daring, to the same end. Grant that he desires the elective franchise, will he not attain it sooner by saving the already advanced steps toward it than by running backward over them? Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only to what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it.

Again, if we reject Louisiana, we also reject one vote in favor of the proposed amendment to the national Constitution. To meet this proposition, it has been argued that no more than three-fourths of those States which have not attempted secession are necessary to validly ratify the amendment. I do not commit myself against this further than to say that such a ratification would be questionable, and sure to be persistently questioned, while a ratification by three-fourths of all the States would be unquestioned and unquestionable. I repeat the question: Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? What has been said of Louisiana will apply generally to other States. And yet so great peculiarities pertain to each State, and such important and sudden changes occur in the same State, and withal so new and unprecedented is the whole

case, that no exclusive and inflexible plan can safely be prescribed as to details and collaterals. Such exclusive and inflexible plan would surely become a new entanglement. Important principles may and must be inflexible. In the present situation, as the phrase goes, it may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper.

APPENDIX A

Glossary of Political Terms

American or Know-Nothing Party. This party came into prominence about 1852, following the enormous immigration caused by the Irish famine of 1847 and the continental European revolutions of 1848–1850. At first the party was a secret order whose real name was "Sons of '76, or Order of the Star-Spangled Banner." All questions regarding the order were answered, "I don't know," — whence the popular name. It opposed the seizure of political control by immigrants. Its motto was, "Americans must rule America." At first it exerted its power by secretly indorsing selected candidates nominated by other parties, and in the elections of 1854 and 1855 it elected the governors and legislatures of several States. At its first national convention, held in Philadelphia in 1856, it nominated Millard Fillmore of New York for President on a platform which attempted to avoid a strong committal on the slavery issue. But that issue had become paramount, and the adherents of the American Party thereafter transferred their allegiance to the parties which seemed to have a program regarding slavery, most of them joining the Republican Party. Fillmore polled 874,000 votes but secured only 8 electors.

Compromise of 1850. The Compromise of 1850 was made necessary by the renewal of the question of extending slavery into the territory west of the Rocky Mountains. This country included Oregon, which had become a Free Territory in 1848; California, which sought admission in 1848 under a Free-State constitution; and Utah and New Mexico, which it was proposed to organize as Territories. By the terms of the compromise California was admitted as a Free State; Utah and New Mexico were organized as Territories with the stipulation that when admitted as States they should be received "with or without

slavery," as their constitutions might prescribe. This compromise left the question of slavery to the citizens of the two Territories. Such a policy had been advocated before 1850 by the slave party, and came to be known as the doctrine of popular sovereignty, or squatter sovereignty. Another measure of the compromise enacted a new and more stringent Fugitive-Slave law. A final enactment abolished the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

Democratic Party. This party was first known as the Republican Party, then as the Democratic-Republican Party, and finally as the Democratic Party, taking its present name in President Jackson's time. Thomas Jefferson, founder of the party, classified men as political thinkers in two classes: "(1) Those who fear and distrust the people and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the higher classes; (2) those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most wise depositary of the public interests." Jefferson claimed that Americans of the second class belonged in his party. Thinkers like Bryant and Walt Whitman were for a time Democrats for the very reason stated by Jefferson; but many men like Lincoln, as genuinely believers in the ultimate justice of the people, were Whigs. Emerson once observed that in principle the Democrats were more liberal than the Whigs but that the Whig Party contained more capable men.

The Democratic Party held sway between 1801 and 1825 and in the time of Jackson, 1829–1837. During those years it insisted upon a strict construction of the Constitution and local self-government rather than a strongly centralized government. Gradually the interests of the South gained sway in party counsels. The platform of 1840, section 7, censured "efforts made by abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery or to take incipient steps in relation thereto." Upon this platform Van Buren was defeated, but the section just quoted was used as the basis for all national Democratic platforms from that date until the Civil War. The platform of 1844 called for the annexation of Texas, and the Democrat, Polk, was elected. In 1844 the Whig, Taylor, was elected. The platform of 1852 defended the Mexican War as "just and necessary," and Pierce was elected. The famous

Cincinnati platform of 1856 declared for the Compromise of 1850 with the Fugitive-Slave law, and promised to resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question. At the Charlestown convention of April 23, 1860, the party split. The Northern Democrats nominated Douglas at Baltimore on June 18; ten days later the Southern Democrats nominated Breckinridge of Kentucky. Douglas's platform declared that it would abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court, that it favored the acquisition of Cuba, that it opposed State laws subversive of the Fugitive-Slave law, and that regarding federal control of slavery in the Territories, decisions of the Supreme Court past and future should decide. The platform of the Southern faction insisted upon the right of all citizens to settle in Territories with their "property" and to have it protected. After war broke out, most Northern Democrats remained loyal to the Union. The platform of 1864 referred to "four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war" and called for a cessation of hostilities with view to an ultimate convention of all the States. The nominee, General George B. McClellan, repudiated part of the platform. Kentucky, New Jersey, and Delaware were the only States which returned Democratic votes to the electoral college in this election.

Dred Scott Case. Dred Scott was a negro slave born in Missouri about 1810. His master, a Dr. Emerson, took him to Illinois in 1834 and to Wisconsin Territory (Minnesota) in 1836. The question later agitated was whether residence in free territory had not freed the slave. He returned to Missouri with his master in 1838. In 1848 Francis P. Blair, Jr., a Free Soil lawyer, induced Dred to sue for assault and battery on being whipped by his master. The State Circuit Court held that his residence on free soil had made him free and that he consequently had a right to sue as a free citizen. The Supreme Court of Missouri reversed the decision by a vote of three to two. Scott was then sold to J. F. A. Sandford of New York, who was sued for assault and battery in carrying off Scott. The suit was tried in the Federal Court of Missouri this time, on the constitutional ground that Scott and Sandford were citizens of different States. This court decided that being a negro did not prevent Scott from being a citizen, but that Sandford had legally coerced a slave.

The case was brought before the December term of the Federal Supreme Court in the winter of 1855–1856. Chief Justice Taney and six assisting judges concurred against Scott, Judges Curtis and McClean dissenting. It was decided that Dred Scott as a negro was not a citizen of the United States within the intent of the Constitution. Justice Taney made various observations known as *obiter dicta*, not an essential part of the decision. Some of the most important were: (1) African negroes had never been recognized in American law or customs as persons. The dissenting judges called attention to the Constitution's mention of negroes as persons and to the fact that in 1787 negroes voted in five States; they contended that the civil rights of a free negro were the same as those of women and minors. (2) Congress had no power to make regulations for the Territories acquired after the adoption of the Constitution except under the Constitution, which recognized slaves as property. The fifth amendment provides that Congress cannot take away property from a citizen without compensation; therefore, as slaves were property, Congress had no right to bar slave property from the Territories. The dissenting judges claimed that slavery was a State institution, and that once out of the State's power a slave became free by the law of nature; State law could not follow him into the Territories. (3) At the time when the Constitution was adopted, negroes were so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. They had no rights whatever except as each State chose to give them. They were not included in the terms "people" and "citizens" in the Declaration or the Constitution.

Free Soil Party. This party was founded in 1848 by a coalition of the Liberty Party; the "Conscience Whigs" of Massachusetts, such as Sumner, who supported the Wilmot Proviso; and the Van Buren faction of New York Democrats. The first national convention, held at Buffalo in 1848, nominated Van Buren for the Presidency on the platform of "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," insisting that Congress should prohibit slavery in the Territories. The Party elected to the thirty-first Congress two senators (Chase and Hale) and fourteen representatives, including Lincoln's ally of later years, Giddings. In 1852 the platform denounced the Compromise of 1850 and declared slavery a "sin against God and a crime

against man." About 1855 most of the adherents of this party became Republicans. Lincoln was never a member of the party, but it numbered such men as Bryant, Whittier, Walt Whitman, Lowell, and Emerson.

FUGITIVE-SLAVE LAW. The provision concerning fugitive slaves in the Constitution (Art. IV, Sec. 2) reads as follows: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." Slaveholders often claimed that this provision was not enforced, and sought more efficacious legislation. The most stringent enactment in their favor was that of the Compromise of 1850, which required all good citizens to assist the officers in recovering runaway slaves and provided fines of a thousand dollars and imprisonment for six months as penalties for those in any way obstructing the execution of the law. (Text in Macdonald: *Documentary Source Book of American History*, p. 390.) As a result of opposition to this enactment several states passed "personal liberty laws," intended to prevent injustice to free negroes.

KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL. From 1844 on, futile efforts were made to organize into a Territory the region west of Missouri and east of the Rocky Mountains which had been left without organization in 1820–1821. These efforts became more determined in the thirty-third session of Congress (1853–1854). On January 4, 1854, Douglas introduced a bill for organizing the Territory of Nebraska with the provision regarding slavery which had been introduced in the bill for organizing Utah and New Mexico in 1850, namely, that when admitted as States they should be received with or without slavery as their State constitutions should prescribe. On January 23, Douglas offered amendments, providing for two Territories instead of one, and declaring that the Missouri Compromise did not apply to these Territories, as it had been superseded by the Compromise of 1850. On February 6, Douglas offered an amendment declaring the Missouri Compromise "inconsistent" with the Compromise of 1850, and the following day offered another amendment in which he adopted the language of the fourteenth section of the bill as it was finally passed. This section declares the compromise

measures of 1820 "inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." The bill was approved on the 30th of May, 1854. It is commonly referred to in Lincoln's works as the Kansas-Nebraska bill or the Nebraska bill, but occasionally, since it abrogated the measures of 1820, is called the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

KNOW-NOTHING PARTY. See American Party.

LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION. The following summary is quoted from Macdonald's *Documentary Source Book of American History*, pp. 420–21.

"A free State convention sitting at Topeka, in Kansas Territory, from Oct. 23 to Nov. 5, 1855, drew up a State constitution prohibiting slavery, which was submitted to the people Dec. 15 and adopted by a vote of 1,731 to 46, only free State men voting. A bill to admit Kansas under this constitution passed the House July 3, 1856, but failed in the Senate. A free State legislature, assuming to meet under the Topeka constitution, was dispersed by the United States troops, and a period of civil war in the Territory followed. September 5, 1857, a convention called by the proslavery legislature of the Territory met at Lecompton and drew up a constitution, which was submitted to the people for adoption 'with slavery' or 'without slavery.' The free State men, who objected to having the Lecompton Constitution on any terms, refrained from voting, and Dec. 21 the constitution 'with slavery' was adopted by a vote of 6,143, against 589 for the constitution 'without slavery.' In the meantime, however, the free State party had got control of the Territorial legislature, and Jan. 4, 1858, the constitution was rejected by a majority of more than 10,000. A bill to admit Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution passed the Senate March 23, 1858, by a vote of 33 to 25. April 1 the House, by a vote of 120 to 112, substituted a bill resubmitting the constitution to popular vote. The two Houses then compromised on the 'English bill' (act of May 4, 1854), 'according to which a substitute for the land ordinance of the Lecompton Constitution was to be submitted to popular vote in Kansas; if it was accepted, the State was to be considered as

admitted; if it was rejected, the Lecompton Constitution was to be considered as rejected by the people, and no further constitutional convention was to be held until a census should have shown that the population of the Territory equalled or exceeded that required for a representative' (Johnston). August 3 the land ordinance was rejected by a vote of 11,088 to 1,788. The Wyandotte Constitution, prohibiting slavery, was ratified by popular vote Oct. 4, 1859. Under this constitution Kansas was admitted to the Union Jan. 29, 1861."

Article 7, section 1, of the Lecompton Constitution read: "The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction, and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase is the same, and as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever." The theory here enunciated is as much at variance with Lincoln's understanding of the rights of property and the rights of slaves as it could possibly be.

Liberty Party. This short-lived political party was founded by liberal Abolitionists who seceded from the Garrison faction in 1839. In April, 1840, the first national convention of the party nominated James G. Birney for the Presidency, and the ticket received 7,059 votes. In the elections of 1844 the party polled 62,300 votes. In 1848 the adherents of this party supported the Free Soil candidates.

Missouri Compromise. In 1819–1820, when Missouri was seeking admission as a State, the question of excluding slavery from her boundaries aroused such feeling that a compromise had to be effected in order that she might be admitted at all. By this compromise the antislavery party allowed Missouri to come in without the prohibition of slavery, and the proslavery party agreed that slavery should be prohibited from the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase, north of 36° 30′. It was also agreed that since Missouri came in as a slave State, Maine should be admitted as a free State. The addition of these States, making twenty-four States in the Union, twelve slave and twelve free, kept the senatorial representation equally divided between those which favored and those which opposed slavery.

Nebraska Bill. See Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

Popular Sovereignty. Popular sovereignty, or squatter sovereignty, was a doctrine developed from the legal theory that the occupants of land had certain rights in it. The doctrine

came to be offered, from 1848 on, by the slavery party, as a proper basis for deciding the status of slavery in the territories and newly formed states. Douglas announced and supported this doctrine in debating upon the Kansas-Nebraska bill, arguing that all questions regarding slavery should be decided by the citizens of Kansas and Nebraska for themselves.

Repeal of Missouri Compromise. See Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

Republican Party. This party, founded in 1854 by opponents of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, drew most of its followers from the Free Soil Party, the Whigs, and later from the American Party. The earliest Republican convention of importance was held at Jackson, Michigan, on July 6, 1854. In the 34th Congress, which met in December, 1855, there were in the Senate 15 Republicans, 42 Democrats, and 5 Americans; and in the House of Representatives there were 108 Republicans, 83 Democrats, and 45 Americans. The Whig Party had disappeared. The first Republican national convention met at Philadelphia in June, 1856, nominated J. C. Frémont of California for the Presidency, and prepared a platform declaring that it was the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories. As a result of the election of 1856, Frémont received 114 electoral votes, and James Buchanan (Democrat) polled 174. The Republican national convention at Chicago on May 16–18, 1860, nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency on the third ballot. In the election which followed, Lincoln received 180 electoral votes, the combined vote for his opponents being 123. The most significant plank in the national platform of 1860 stated, "We deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States."

Squatter Sovereignty. See Popular Sovereignty.

Whig Party. This party succeeded the National Republican Party, which was itself the heir of the old Federal Party of Alexander Hamilton. The Whig Party arose in 1834, the name being used to signify opposition to the executive usurpation of President Jackson, a Democrat. The party elected General W. H. Harrison to the Presidency in 1840. In 1844 Henry Clay was nominated and defeated. Clay and Webster were the great leaders of the party, and both aimed to preserve the Union.

Consequently both of them were suspected of dishonest trimming by the abolition wing of their party. The Mexican War widened the breach between what were called in Massachusetts the Conscience Whigs (antislavery) and the Cotton Whigs (proslavery). The Whigs elected General Zachary Taylor to the Presidency in 1848; he was their second and last successful candidate. Clay and Webster worked for the Compromise of 1850, and the Whig platform of 1852 approved the Compromise by a vote of 212 to 70 The party was overwhelmingly defeated in the elections of 1852. In 1856 a convention of what remained in the party indorsed the American candidate for the Presidency. Northern Whigs like Lincoln became Republicans; Southern Whigs became Democrats. There were, of course, a few exceptions to this general statement; some wealthy men voted as their business interests inclined, and a few generous spirits tried to found a new party of compromise in 1860.

Wilmot Proviso. In 1848, when President Polk wished an appropriation for settling boundary disputes with Mexico, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania moved that the appropriation be granted but with a provision that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" should ever exist in any territory acquired from Mexico. This became known as the Wilmot Proviso. It was voted down in 1846 and again in 1847, after which it was withdrawn, and an appropriation made without the restriction.

APPENDIX B

Chronological Tables

TABLE I

1809–1860

	Lincoln's Life	American History	American Literature
1809	Lincoln born, February 12, in Hardin, Kentucky.	James Madison, Democrat, of Virginia, inaugurated as President.	Irving's *Knickerbocker History.* Death of Tom Paine. Poe and Holmes born.
1810		Trouble with France and England regarding American maritime rights.	
1811		War with Great Britain threatens.	Harriet Beecher Stowe born.
1812		Louisiana admitted as slave state. War declared against Great Britain.	
1813		Perry's victory on Lake Erie.	
1814		Hartford Convention declares the right to secede. Peace with Great Britain declared on December 24	Motley born.
1815		Decatur's expedition to the Mediterranean. Treaty with Algiers.	

	Lincoln's Life	American History	American Literature
1816	Moves to Indiana.	Indiana admitted as a free state. Monroe reëlected.	Bryant admitted to the bar.
1817		Mississippi admitted as a slave state. "Era of good feeling."	Bryant's *Thanatopsis.* Thoreau born.
1818	Death of Lincoln's mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln.	Contention over Missouri. Question of disunion discussed. Illinois admitted as a free state.	
1819	Lincoln's father marries Sarah Bush Johnston.	The House for prohibiting slavery in Missouri; the Senate for admitting it as a slave state. Alabama admitted as a slave state.	Walt Whitman and Lowell born.
1820		Missouri Compromise passed. The Cabinet agrees that Congress could prohibit slavery in a Territory. Maine admitted as a free state. Maritime slave trade made piracy.	Irving's *Sketch Book.*
1821		Missouri admitted conditionally as a slave state. Liberia founded.	Lundy's *Genius of Universal Emancipation;* Cooper's *The Spy;* Irving's *Bracebridge Hall;* Bryant's first volume of *Poems.* Emerson graduated at Harvard.
1822			

Lincoln's Life	American History	American Literature
1823	The Monroe Doctrine enunciated.	Cooper's *The Pioneers.* Parkman born.
1824	No electoral majority for President, the choice falling to the House of Representatives.	Cooper's *The Pilot;* Irving's *Tales of a Traveler.*
1825	Separation of Democratic and Whig parties; slavery an issue. John Quincy Adams President.	Longfellow graduated at Bowdoin. Webster's first *Bunker Hill Address.*
1826	Death of Thomas Jefferson.	Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans.*
1827		Whittier at Haverhill Academy. Cooper's *The Prairie;* Poe's *Tamerlane.*
1828 Lincoln goes to New Orleans on a flatboat.	North now for tariff. "Tariff of abominations." State sovereignty involved in Georgia *versus* Creek and Cherokee Indians.	
1829	Jackson and the Spoils System. Georgia and South Carolina for doctrine of Nullification. Mexico abolishes slavery.	Holmes graduated at Harvard. Longfellow a professor at Bowdoin. Bryant becomes editor-in-chief of the *New York Post.* Irving's *Conquest of Granada.*

	Lincoln's Life	American History	American Literature
1830	Lincoln moves to Macon County, Illinois.	Webster-Hayne debate.	Sumner graduated at Harvard.
1831	To New Orleans on a flatboat. In July to New Salem in Sangamon County. Clerk in a store.	Insurrection of negroes at Southampton, Va. under leadership of Nat Turner. Debate on Slavery in Virginia legislature.	Garrison's *Liberator* founded. Wendell Phillips graduated at Harvard.
1832	A captain in the Black Hawk War. Defeated for the Illinois legislature.	South Carolina votes nullification of tariff law. Jackson sends troops to collect revenues. Calhoun resigns the vice-presidency. Antislavery societies organized in Massachusetts and New York.	Irving's *The Alhambra.*
1833	Fails in business with Berry. Postmaster of New Salem; deputy-surveyor of Sangamon County. Begins to study law.	American Antislavery Society founded. Garrison dragged through the streets of Boston. Congress passes a compromise tariff and the Force Bill.	Whittier's *Justice and Expediency.*
1834	Elected to lower house of Illinois legislature.	Jackson calls attention to excitement in South caused by attempts to circulate abolitionist propaganda.	Whittier's *Expostulation.*
1835	In the Illinois legislature, leader of	Oberlin College opened to negroes.	Whittier elected to Massachusetts

	Lincoln's Life	American History	American Literature
	the "Long Nine." Love affair with Anne Rutledge.		legislature. Mark Twain born.
1836	Admitted to bar. In the legislature; protests against resolutions condemning abolitionism. Love affair with Mary Owens.	The Gag Law passed in Congress. General Conference of the M.E. Church debates interference with slavery. Arkansas admitted as a slave state.	Birney's *Philanthropist* founded. Emerson's *Nature*. Channing joins the antislavery movement.
1837	Settles in Springfield, Ill. Partner of J. T. Stuart.	Michigan admitted as a free state. Martin Van Buren, Democrat, President. Financial panic.	Whittier's *Poems;* Emerson's *The American Scholar* and *Concord Hymn;* Bryant's *The Battle-Field;* Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales.* Emerson's first speech on American slavery.
1838	In the legislature; minority candidate for speaker.	Mob at Alton, Ill. murders Lovejoy. "Gag resolutions."	Wendell Phillips lectures against slavery. Whittier edits the *Pennsylvania Freeman.* Lowell graduated at Harvard.
1839		Prominent abolitionists meet at Warsaw, N. Y., and decide to form an independent political party.	Longfellow's *Voices of the Night.* Bret Harte born.
1840	Again candidate for speaker Candidate for presidential elector on the Whig ticket.	Birney nominated for presidency by Liberty Party. Harrison and Tyler elected.	Cooper's *The Pathfinder. The Dial* founded by Emerson and others.

	Lincoln's Life	American History	American Literature
	Stumps the state for Harrison.	(Harrison's death put the Southerner Tyler in the chair.) Split in the national Antislavery Society. Democratic platform denounces Abolitionists. Frederick Douglass mobbed in Indiana. New York state passes "personal liberty" law.	
1841	Engagement to Mary Todd broken. Challenged to a duel by J. T. Shields. Partner to Judge S. T. Logan. Refuses Whig nomination for governor.		Brook Farm experiment begun. Emerson's *Essays*, first series.
1842	Marries Mary Todd on November 4.	Webster-Ashburton treaty with Canada to repress the slave trade.	Longfellow's *Poems on Slavery*. Lanier born.
1843	Partnership begun with W. H. Herndon.	"Personal liberty" laws passed by Massachusetts and Vermont.	Whittier's *Massachusetts to Virginia;* Lowell's *Stanzas on Freedom*. Henry James born.
1844	Candidate for presidential elector on Whig ticket. Stumps Illinois and Indiana for Henry Clay	Treaty for annexation defeated twice by the Senate. Platform of Liberty Party attacks fugitive	Emerson's address on *Emancipation*.

Lincoln's Life	American History	American Literature
	slave provision in Constitution. Polk of Tennessee, Democrat, elected President.	
1845	Bill for annexation of Texas passed. Division in Baptist Church over slavery. Florida admitted as a slave state.	Lowell's *The Present Crisis.*
1846 Elected to the 30th Congress.	Mexican War. Wilmot Proviso introduced in August; defeated by filibuster. Iowa admitted as a free state. Division in M. E. Church over slavery.	Lowell's *Biglow Papers*, first series, begun June 17.
1847 In Congress. Introduces "Spot Resolutions."	Oregon issue. Calhoun argues that Congress could not prohibit slavery in Territories. Provision of 1787 incorporated in bill admitting Oregon as Territory. Pennsylvania passes "personal liberty" laws.	Bryant's *O Mother of a Mighty Race;* Emerson's *Ode to W. H. Channing;* Longfellow's *Evangeline.*
1848 In Congress voted for Wilmot Proviso and Ashmun Amendment. Introduces bill abolishing slavery	Peace with Mexico. Upper California admitted. Wisconsin admitted as a free state. First national	Whittier's *The Crisis;* Lowell's *Biglow Papers*, first series complete.

	Lincoln's Life	American History	American Literature
	in the District of Columbia. Presidential elector on Whig ticket. Stumps New England for Taylor. Declines appointment as Territorial Governor of Oregon.	convention of the Free Soil Party. "Personal liberty" laws passed by Rhode Island. Taylor of Louisiana, Whig, elected President.	
1849	Practices law in old 8th Judicial Circuit of Illinois.	California applies for entrance as a state.	Death of Poe.
1850		Clay's Compromises. Fugitive-Slave Bill defied in the North. Georgia threatens to secede. California admitted as a free state. Slave trade abolished in District of Columbia.	Whittier's *Ichabod;* Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter.*
1851			Death of Cooper. Hawthorne's *House of the Seven Gables.*
1852	Campaigns for Scott.	Death of Clay and Webster.	Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*
1853		Pierce of New Hampshire, Democrat, inaugurated President.	
1854	Roused by Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Peoria Speech, October 16. Elected to Illinois legislature.	Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Rise of the Republican Party.	Thoreau's *Walden.*

	Lincoln's Life	American History	American Literature
		Doctrine of "Squatter Sovereignty" comes into prominence. Emigrant Aid Company of Massachusetts begins sending settlers to Kansas. "Personal liberty" laws passed in Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.	
1855	Resigns from state legislature to become candidate for United States Senate; defeated.	Topeka Constitution passed in December. "Personal liberty" laws passed in Maine, Massachusetts, and Michigan.	Whittier's *Arisen at Last;* Longfellow's *Hiawatha;* Whitman's *Leaves of Grass.*
1856	Bloomington speech, May 19. Busy with organization of the Republican Party. Candidate for presidential elector on the Republican ticket. Receives 110 votes for vice-presidential nomination in Republican convention at Philadelphia. Campaigns for Frémont.	Guerrilla warfare in Kansas; town of Lawrence sacked by proslavery forces on May 21. Sumner assaulted in the United States Senate on May 22. Buchanan of Pennsylvania, Democrat, elected President over Frémont, Republican.	
1857	Springfield address on the Dred Scott decision, June 26.	Dred Scott decision announced, March 6. Lecompton Convention in Kansas (October)	Helper's *The Impending Crisis.* The *Atlantic Monthly* founded with Lowell as

	Lincoln's Life	American History	American Literature
		denounced by Douglas (December).	editor; publishes Holmes' *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.*
1858	June 17, "Divided House" speech at Springfield, accepting the Republican nomination to the United States Senate. Joint debates with Douglas, August 21 to October 15.	Lecompton Constitution defeated in Kansas. Minnesota admitted as a free state. "Personal liberty" laws in Kansas and Wisconsin. Republicans gain in Illinois and other states. Buchanan urges acquisition of Cuba and a protectorate over part of Mexico.	Longfellow's *The Courtship of Miles Standish.*
1859	In January the Illinois legislature elects Douglas to the United States Senate. Lincoln speaks in Ohio in September and in Kansas in December.	Kansas forms anti-slavery constitution. New Mexico accepts slavery. Oregon admitted as free state. "Personal liberty" law in Ohio. John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, Va., October 17.	Whittier's *Brown of Ossawatomie.* Death of Irving.
1860	Feb. 27, Cooper Union address in New York, followed by a speaking tour in New England. Nominated for the presidency by the Republican Party in May and elected in November.	Republican Party successful in national elections. On December 14 a manifesto for a Southern Confederacy is issued. On December 20 South Carolina secedes.	Lowell's essay on *The Election in November.*

TABLE II

1861–1865

Lincoln and Political-Military Events		American Literature [1]
1861.		
Jan. 8.	*Star of the West* fires on Fort Sumter.	Lowell: — *The Question of the Hour* (January), *E. Pluribus Unum* (February), *The Pickens-and-Stealin's Rebellion* (June), *The Washers of the Shroud** (November), *Mason and Slidell**, *Biglow Papers**, second series, number 2 (written in December).
Jan. 10–	Mississippi, Florida, Alabama,	
Feb. 1.	Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas secede.	
Feb. 4.	Convention meets in Montgomery, Ala., to frame the Confederate government.	
Feb. 11.	Lincoln leaves Springfield.	
Feb. 23.	Lincoln reaches Washington.	
March 4.	Lincoln inaugurated.	
April 12.	Fort Sumter attacked.	
April 14.	Fort Sumter surrenders.	
April 15.	Lincoln issues call for 75,000 volunteers.	Holmes: — *Brother Jonathan's Lament** (May), *Army Hymn** (June), *Parting Hymn** (August), *Union and Liberty** (December).
April 17.	Virginia secedes.	
April 19.	Lincoln declares Southern ports blockaded.	
May 6.	Arkansas secedes.	
May 12.	Great Britain recognizes Confederate States as belligerents.	T. Winthrop: — *The New York Seventh Regiment* (June), *Washington as a Camp* (July).
June 8.	Tennessee secedes.	
July 4.	Lincoln calls Congress to special session.	C. F. Adams, Jr.: — *The Reign of King Cotton* (April).
July 21.	Northern defeat at Bull Run.	T. W. Higginson: — *The Ordeal by Battle* (July).
Aug. 30.	Frémont's Missouri emancipation proclamation.	C. E. Norton: — *The Advantages of Defeat* (September).
Nov. 1.	Lincoln appoints McClellan to command of all the Union armies.	
Nov. 8.	Mason and Slidell seized.	
Dec. 3.	Lincoln's message to Congress.	

[1] Unless otherwise indicated the date of *publication* is given. Poems are marked with asterisks.

Lincoln and Political–Military Events	American Literature
Dec. 25. Lincoln orders the return of Mason and Slidell.	
1862.	
Jan. 13. Lincoln appoints Stanton Secretary of War and sends special message to Congress recommending gradual compensated emancipation.	Lowell:—*Biglow Papers**, second series (beginning in January).
Feb. 6. Grant takes Fort Henry.	Holmes: — *Voyage of the Good Ship Union** (March), *My Hunt after "The Captain"* (December).
Feb. 16. Grant receives "unconditional surrender" of Fort Donelson.	
March–July. McClellan's unsuccessful Peninsular Campaign.	
March 9. Victory of the *Monitor* over the *Merrimac*.	Whittier: — *In War-Time** (August), *The Battle Autumn of 1862** (October), *The Waiting**, *The Watchers**.
April 6–7. Grant's victory of Shiloh.	
April 16. Slavery abolished in District of Columbia.	
April 25. Farragut takes New Orleans.	Emerson: — *The President's Proclamation* (November).
May 30. Confederates abandon Corinth.	
June 6. Confederates surrender Memphis.	Hawthorne: — *Chiefly about War-Matters* (July).
Aug. 5. Union defeat at Cedar Mountain.	
Aug. 29–30. Union defeat at second battle of Bull Run (Manassas).	J. W. Howe: — *Battle Hymn of the Republic** (February).
Sept. 17. Battle of Antietam, somewhat indecisive victory for Union forces.	Whitman: — Nurses his brother, wounded at Fredericksburg (December).
Sept. 22. Lincoln issues preliminary proclamation of emancipation.	
Dec. 1. Lincoln recommends to Congress gradual compensated emancipation; puts Burnside in command of Union armies.	
Dec. 13. Union defeat under Burnside at Fredericksburg.	
1863.	
Jan. 1. Lincoln issues formal emancipation proclamation.	Lowell:—*Biglow Papers**, second series, number 7 (February).
Jan. 26. Lincoln appoints Hooker to command.	

Lincoln and Political–Military Events		American Literature
March.	Congress authorizes Lincoln to suspend the writ of *Habeas Corpus* in certain cases; passes Draft Act.	Whittier: — *The Proclamation** (February), *Barbara Frietchie** (October).
May 3.	Hooker defeated at Chancellorsville; "Stonewall" Jackson killed.	Emerson: — *Boston Hymn** (February), *Voluntaries** (October).
June 27.	Lincoln appoints Meade to command.	E. E. Hale: — *The Man without a Country* (December).
July 1–3.	Union victory at Gettysburg under Meade.	
July 4.	Grant captures Vicksburg.	
July 13–16.	Draft riots in New York City.	
Sept. 19–20.	Union defeat at Chickamauga.	
Nov. 19.	Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.	
Nov. 24–25.	Grant wins battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.	
Dec. 8.	Lincoln's message to Congress and Proclamation of Amnesty.	
1864.		
March 12.	Lincoln appoints Grant commander-in-chief.	Lowell: — Essays on *The Rebellion, McClellan or Lincoln*, and *Abraham Lincoln*.
May 5–12.	Grant wins battles of the Wilderness.	
June 7.	Lincoln renominated for the Presidency at Baltimore.	Holmes: — *The Last Charge** (February).
Aug. 5.	Farragut's victory at Mobile.	
Sept. 2.	Sherman takes Atlanta.	
Nov. 8.	Lincoln reëlected President.	
Dec. 15–16.	Union victory under Thomas at Nashville.	
Dec. 22.	Sherman takes Savannah.	
1865.		
Feb. 1.	Thirteenth Amendment passed in Congress. Hampton Roads peace conference.	Lowell: — *Commemoration Ode** (read at Harvard on July 21).
Feb. 17.	Sherman enters Charleston.	Whittier: — *Laus Deo**.
March 4.	Lincoln's second inaugural.	Whitman: — *O Captain! My Captain**, *When Lilacs Last in the*
April 1.	Sheridan wins battle of Five Forks.	

Lincoln and Political-Military Events		American Literature
April 3.	Richmond surrenders.	*Dooryard Bloom'd**, and *Drum Taps**.
April 4.	Lincoln enters Richmond.	Bryant: — *Abraham Lincoln**.
April 9.	Lee surrenders at Appomatox Court House.	Emerson: — *Address on Abraham Lincoln.*
April 14.	Lincoln shot in Ford's Theater at 10.20 P.M.	
April 15.	Death of Lincoln at 7.22 A.M.	
May 4.	Lincoln buried in Springfield, Ill.	

APPENDIX C

Class Room Suggestions

I

FOR CLASSES IN ARGUMENTATION OR DEBATE

A. Study Chiefly of Structure

THE COOPER UNION ADDRESS

Outline the *Cooper Union Address*. What is accomplished in the introductory paragraphs? In the body of the address what are the three main divisions? Discuss Lincoln's use of evidence. In what does its strength consist? How does he use his conclusions regarding the attitude of the fathers, in refuting charges brought by the South against the Republican Party? What charges are refuted, and what are the methods of refutation? In the third main division, what advice does Lincoln offer to his own party? With the statement of what moral issue does he conclude the address? What would be the probable effect of the conclusion upon his audience?

B. Study Chiefly of Reasoning

THE FIRST LINCOLN–DOUGLAS DEBATE
DOUGLAS'S SPEECH

Find and explain the following fallacies in paragraphs indicated:

I. Begging the question
   - A. By mere assumption, paragraphs 2, 4.
   - B. By epithet, paragraphs 5, 6, 9, 12.
   - C. By assumption of a suppressed premise, paragraph 6 (in the passage about the Mexican War).
   - D. By use of assumption for proof, paragraph 8.

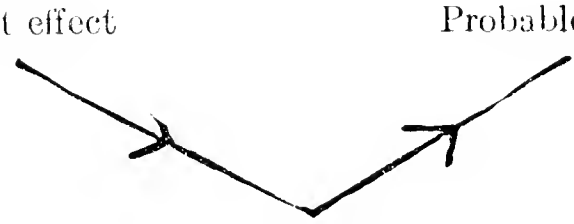
II. Ambiguous terms, paragraphs 4, 11.
III. False cause
  A. *Post hoc ergo propter hoc*, paragraph 13.
IV. Division, paragraph 6.
V. Ignoring the question
  A. By arguing beside the point, paragraph 10.
  B. By *argumentum ad hominem*, paragraph 6.
  C. By *argumentum ad populum*, paragraph 11.

Point out the weakness in Douglas's argument from analogy in paragraph 10. How would Douglas define "submit" and "citizenship" in paragraph 11? "inferior race" in paragraph 12? Into what dilemma does Douglas fall in the last sentence of paragraph 12?

LINCOLN'S SPEECH

Where does Lincoln shift the burden of proof? Is he justified? Does he support his own affirmative charges with adequate evidence? In paragraph 6 (of Douglas's speech) Douglas tries to catch Lincoln in a dilemma. How does Lincoln avoid the dilemma? How much of Douglas's *argumentum ad hominem* does Lincoln think deserving of refutation? What would he lose by attempting complete refutation? Compare the attitude of Douglas toward his audience with that of Lincoln. In what ways do they attempt to win the sympathy of their audience? See especially paragraphs 12, 13, 21. In paragraphs 7, 8, 9, 10 how does Lincoln meet Douglas's misinterpretation of the words "A house divided against itself cannot stand"? What fallacious assumptions of Douglas's does he expose? To what theory of Douglas's does Lincoln apply the *reductio ad absurdum* in paragraph 10?

Turning to direct attack what charge does Lincoln make in paragraph 11? What evasion by Douglas does Lincoln point out in paragraph 12? In paragraphs 12 and 13 Lincoln's argument halts while he employs irony, narrative, and humorous phraseology. Can you suggest reasons for these tactics in the mental state of his audience? In paragraphs 14 and 15 Lincoln uses the argument from effect to effect, which may be represented graphically as follows:



State the present effect, the probable cause, and the probable future effect. In paragraph 16 what evasion of Douglas's does Lincoln expose? In paragraphs 17, 18, 19, 20 Lincoln makes Douglas a witness against himself. How effective is such testimony? In paragraph 22 how does Lincoln attack Douglas's tenacious adherence to the Dred Scott decision? What is Lincoln's appeal in his concluding paragraph?

C. Study of Persuasion

THE BLOOMINGTON ADDRESS

In the study of this address have clearly in mind (*a*) the occasion, (*b*) the character of the audience, (*c*) Lincoln's relation with the audience.

Characterize the style of the opening paragraph and criticize the paragraph as an approach to the audience. In paragraphs 2 and 3 what mood does Lincoln seek to establish in his audience? Compare the style of this with the style of paragraph 1. What general principles of political morality does Lincoln enunciate in paragraphs 3 and 4? How would the statement of these principles be likely to affect his audience? In paragraph 5 Lincoln attempts to unite the discordant elements in his audience for a single cause. How does he do this? How do you account for the applause? What justification has a speaker for such an appeal to fear as is found in paragraphs 6 and 7? Was Lincoln justified? To what sentiments does he appeal in paragraph 8? It will be observed throughout his speeches that Lincoln continually mentions the Declaration of Independence. Would reference to that document have so strong an appeal to-day? Can you give an example of such appeal in a recent speech? Study the vocabulary of paragraph 10 for its probable effect upon the feelings. In paragraph 11 how does Lincoln manage

to stir the indignation of the audience? In what other instances in this speech does he attempt to undermine the reputation of Douglas? Discuss the effect of such a series of questions as is found in paragraph 12. In paragraphs 13 and 14 note the appeal to precedent and the conjuring with great names. Why does Lincoln say "old Massachusetts"? In the humor of paragraphs 16, 17, and 18, is Lincoln stooping to his audience? Observe how he meets interruptions in paragraphs 18, 19, and 21. In public speaking, what is the particular effectiveness of a good rejoinder to an interruption? Is the rejoinder in paragraph 19 too abrupt? Note how many of Lincoln's paragraphs end with a question. For what purpose does he use the concluding sentence in paragraph 20? Note the appeal to local pride at the opening of the same paragraph. In paragraphs 21 and 22 does Lincoln gain anything by expanding points previously made? In the opening of paragraph 24 how does he attempt to mollify the radical Abolitionists in his audience? What proportion does the logic in the paragraph bear to the emotional appeal? Discuss the rhetoric of paragraphs 25 and 26. Note the Biblical quotations in paragraph 27. Can you find other examples of direct or indirect quotation of the Bible in this speech? In paragraph 28 comment on Lincoln's use of a striking phrase and of a concrete illustration. Which part of paragraph 30 is more likely to impress the audience, — the humorous epithets or the serious evidence? Is the combination effective? Point out the figures of speech (tropes) in paragraph 31 and tell in what ways they are superior to literal statement. Why did paragraph 34 appear to the audience the "climax" of the speech? What is the temper and what the purpose of the concluding paragraph?

After reviewing the entire speech discuss (*a*) Lincoln's purpose, (*b*) the motives to which he appeals, (*c*) his methods of impressing the imagination, (*d*) the amount of emotional appeal compared with the amount of evidence and reasoning. Lincoln's enemies charged that he employed vulgar appeals in his speeches, relying too much upon the force of humor and his extraordinary ability to tell a story. What appeals of the kind do you find in the present address? Compare Lincoln's oratorical methods in this speech with those employed in the *Cooper Union Address* and in the first *Lincoln-Douglas Debate*.

II

FOR CLASSES IN COMPOSITION

A. Topics from Which Theme Subjects May Be Derived

Lincoln's Birthplace; The Life of a Pioneer; The Middle West of Lincoln's Day; The Pioneer in Politics; The Early Abolitionists; Famous American Negroes; Bleeding Kansas; The Border Ruffians; Lincoln and Children; Lincoln's Education and Thoughts on Education; Lincoln's Attitude toward Negro Emancipation; Lincoln at Home; Lincoln's Humor; Lincoln's Friends; Lincoln and his Generals; The Lincoln-Shields Duel; Lincoln's Cabinet; Lincoln and Labor; Famous Statues of Lincoln; Lincoln Memorials.

B. A Study of Lincoln's Letters

Find in Lincoln's letters one or two examples of each of the following merits: clarity, brevity, tact, courtesy, modesty, generosity, sympathy, force, simplicity, candor.

C. A Study of Lincoln's Rhetoric

Observe Lincoln's use of figurative language, his use of humor, his use of the rhetorical question, his use of quotation, his use of homely diction, his use of balanced sentence-structure (*e.g.*, in the *Letter to Greeley*). How does he ornament his style? What makes the style interesting? To what extent does his style reveal his character?

III

FOR CLASSES IN HISTORY

A. Lincoln's Political Ideals

(1) Which principle did Lincoln consider of greater importance, that of federal union or that of states' rights? What great political leaders before Lincoln had championed these two principles? In what historical documents are these principles enunciated? Compare the attitude of Lincoln toward union with that of Washington, Jefferson, Clay, Webster, Calhoun, W. L. Garrison, and Douglas.

(2) Whence did Lincoln derive his idea of the natural rights of man? Compare his ideal regarding this matter with the ideals of Jefferson and of Douglas.

(3) How much of Lincoln's faith in the "plain people" did he derive from a political tradition and how much from his own experience? In which of his writings does he express his three ideals of union, natural rights, and faith in the people? How much of his success as a statesman resulted from his adherence to these ideals, and how much from his personal traits, such as magnanimity, sympathy, and candor? Compare Lincoln in this respect with Roosevelt and Wilson.

B. Lincoln and the Slavery Issue

With which of Lincoln's political ideals did the institution of slavery conflict? What is the nature of his first utterance on the slavery issue? What bearing had the Mexican War on the extension of slavery? What was Lincoln's attitude toward this war? Why did he support the Wilmot Proviso? Why did he approve the Compromise of 1850 with its Fugitive Slave Law? Why did the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 rouse him to political action? In the *Peoria Speech* what did Lincoln say regarding negro emancipation, the extension of slavery, and negro political rights? (See excerpts from the speech and quotation in the first Lincoln-Douglas debate.) State Douglas's theory of popular sovereignty. How did Lincoln attack this theory? How was slavery involved in the Illinois senatorial contest of 1858? What did Lincoln think of John Brown? How does the *Cooper Union Speech* summarize Lincoln's attitude toward slavery in the campaign of 1860? What pronouncement regarding slavery do you find in the *First Inaugural?* At the outbreak of war why did not Lincoln favor immediate emancipation? What purpose did he have in suggesting compensated emancipation? Trace the later developments of his emancipation program. Did he change his opinion with regard to political and social equality for the negroes?

C. Lincoln and Political Parties

What were the principles of the Whig Party? In what parties were the opponents of slavery to be found before the formation

of the Republican Party? Why did they not unite under a single party standard? Was Lincoln an Abolitionist? How do you account for the disappearance of the Whig Party? From what political organizations did the Republican Party recruit its membership? What purpose united it? What part did Lincoln play in founding the party? Upon what grounds did the Republican and Democratic parties clash in the elections of 1856, 1858, and 1860? How were Lincoln and Douglas involved in the division of the Democratic Party (1858–1860)? Give reasons for the nomination of Lincoln in 1860. Discuss the various nominees and their platforms. What was the position of the Northern Democrats after the outbreak of war? What was the political complexion of Lincoln's cabinet? What difficulties did Lincoln have with the leaders in his own party? Did he show political partisanship during the war? Did he accept the "spoils system"? What were the rival political platforms of 1864?

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